

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. XII, No. 3

MARCH, 1923

TOTAL No. 81

COMMENT

Los Angeles is to have a new charter. Nominations for a board of freeholders to draft it will be made at the May primaries. The election will be on June 5.

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The city of Berkeley, California, has adopted manager government by a vote of almost two to one. The straight commission form was rejected at the same election.

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St. Paul, which recently began regulating the wages of municipal employes in accordance with the rise and fall in the cost of living, as reported in the February REVIEW, has abandoned the cost of living figures compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board in favor of those published by the United States bureau of labor statistics.

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Detroit, which now has five of the thirty-two senators and fourteen of the one hundred representatives in the state legislature, is hoping for a legislative reapportionment at this session. She will not get her full quota, which is about one-third of the members of each house, although the constitution entitles her to it. But this is one case in which no one is able to enforce the constitution.

Governor Smith of New York has again caused to be introduced into the legislature the three constitutional amendments relating to state reorganization which passed the legislature in almost the same form in 1920 but which were defeated in 1921 at the wish of Governor Miller. The amendments provide for an executive budget system, for a four year term for elective executive officers, and for the consolidation of administrative agencies into nineteen departments.

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The City and County of Butte, Montana Such is to be the corporate name of what has been the city of Butte and the county of Silver Bow. Dr. A. R. Hatton, charter consultant of the National Municipal League, has just completed the draft of the charter which will consolidate the two governments under a city-county manager.

Butte is a city of about 50,000 population. About 97 per cent of the population of Silver Bow county live in Butte. This is the first effort to take advantage of the constitutional amendment adopted last November, authorizing the legislature to consolidate cities and counties.

The charter is something very new in American government and we are asking Dr. Hatton to write it up for

the next REVIEW. Its chances of passing the legislature are excellent.

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*A Set-Back to
Popular
Government*

The reputation of our courts will not be enhanced by the decision of the Mississippi supreme court in *Power v. Robertson* (93 So. 769), overruling its decision of five years before and nullifying the initiative and referendum amendment of 1914. According to this latest view of the court, supported by very unsatisfactory reasoning, the amendment actually comprises more than "one amendment," and its submission as one amendment contravenes the constitutional provision that requires each amendment to be submitted separately at the election.

J. D. B.

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*Mayoralty
Ethics*

We need a book of etiquette for mayors. Mayor Hylan tells us that the "Queen, you said a mouthful" story is a fabrication circulated by his enemy, "the interests." Nevertheless our mayors are sometimes guilty of bad form and, occasionally, serious breaches of ethics. In the last category we place a letter addressed to "The Employes of the City of Chicago" by Mayor Thompson urging defeat of the proposed new state constitution. We now know that the constitution would have been beaten anyway but this doesn't mitigate the mayor's offense.

In his letter to the civil servants, Mayor Thompson characterizes the proposed constitution as "The most dangerous, vicious, liberty-destroying instrument of its kind ever conceived in our nation's history." It will increase the taxes of the poor. The pension system and the civil service as applied to Chicago "may be jeopardized, if not entirely destroyed." By

voting no, each city employe will safeguard his "right to receive a pension."

Of course it is expected that the mayor will be a political leader. But why should he send such a letter to the huge number of city employes under civil service and presumably devoted to the non-political service of the people?

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*Constructive
Teaching
of Civics*

One of the leading objects of the National Council for the Social Studies, an organization of scholars, school administrators and teachers for the purpose of improving instruction in history, civics, economics, and kindred subjects, is to ascertain the reasons why so little effort is made in the schools to train future citizens in the principles of political organization. Citizens of voting age must all express an opinion on the adoption of charters and constitutions. Very few of them need know, for practical purposes, the principles of algebra and trigonometry. The latter are more difficult to understand than the former, but the latter are far more generally taught than the former. Why is this? Every thoughtful and informed citizen in America, who is not limited by the practical politics of his affiliations, believes and will state frankly that the movement to shorten the ballot, in our state governments for example, is a reform against which there can be no argument. Therefore this reform can be safely taught by trained teachers of civics. Yet students who enter college know almost nothing about it. This is a mere illustration of similar weaknesses in our political education. Who is at fault? What can we do about it? It seems to be high time that answers were found to these questions.

E. D.

*Tennessee
Adopts
Administrative
Consolidation*

A new administrative code, consolidating sixty-four disconnected bureaus and departments into eight departments, the heads of which are appointed by the governor, has been adopted in Tennessee. The aggregate vote of the two houses of the legislature was 98 to 20 in favor of the code. The plan of reorganization was drafted by A. E. Buck, a staff member of the National Institute of Public Administration but acting in this instance under the auspices of the National Municipal League. Copies of League publications were furnished to all the members of the legislature and to the newspapers of the state. Governor Peay led the fight for the code, the adoption of which was little short of a landslide.

The old method of decentralization, which had grown up over a long period of years, had proved unsuccessful. Under it the state regularly ran about \$1,000,000 behind in its annual obligations. Bond issue piled upon bond issue. Interest charges mounted steadily. Each governor bequeathed to his successor a big deficit. Each state department—and their number grew unconscionably—lacking a direct responsibility to the governor, vied with the others in getting appropriations from the legislature to maintain or expand its activities. The whole system was productive of extravagance and waste, of inefficiency and petty politics.

The new system brings order and responsibility into the state's affairs. Its supporters confidently expect it to result in a saving of \$1,000,000 annually and in increased effectiveness all along the line. Ousted office-holders propose to test the constitutionality of the code but it is confidently expected that the courts will sustain it.

*Pork vs.
The Budget* While the appropriation measures of congress have not all been enacted into law, there is general agreement in Washington, apparently, that the bureau of the budget is responsible for the excellent progress achieved to date (February 10).

It is admitted that the bureau of the budget made drastic, even arbitrary, cuts in the estimates of department heads. General Lord states that he allotted a pro rata cut to each department and unit, and thus threw the responsibility on the department or unit to prove that more money was an absolute necessity. In many instances the budget bureau allowed increases over these arbitrary cuts; so that the budget recommendations to congress represented the best judgment of the bureau, all things considered, of the proper allocation of funds to be kept as nearly as possible within the expected revenues of \$3,481,000,000. The budget recommendations for the year, according to General Lord were cut \$321,000,000 less than the first figure.

What has congress done with the recommendations of the bureau of the budget? In general the appropriation measures have followed very closely the budget estimates. In two instances only did the house greatly exceed the budget figures—in the District of Columbia bill and in the war department bill.

In extenuation of the increases voted for the District of Columbia it may be said that the whole system of control for the District is awkward and the budget bureau may be pardoned if its cuts were a little too drastic. Therefore, the probable increases in this appropriation can hardly be cited as examples of a break-down in the budget system.

What shall we say of the outstanding

flagrant increase in the appropriations for rivers and harbors which was voted by the house and is now under consideration by the senate?

The facts of the case seem to be these: The chief of engineers in the war department estimated amounts which could be "profitably expended" during the coming fiscal year. A long list of rivers and harbors was submitted showing amounts allocated to each. The total came to \$43,178,130 for improvements, plus \$13,412,280 for maintenance, a total of \$56,590,410.

There was also \$14,905,000 more for flood control and allied objects. The budget bureau cut the fifty-six odd millions to twenty-seven odd millions. The appropriation committee of the house added an even \$10,000,000. The vote on the floor of the house restored the amount to the fifty-six odd millions, the amount which the chief of engineers thought might profitably be expended on rivers and harbors during the coming fiscal year. And this is a declared régime of economy!

The bill is now on the floor of the senate where an amendment to reduce the fifty-six odd millions to an even fifty millions has been rejected.

It is clear that the budget for this particular year at least, if the senate concurs, will have failed to stand the strain of the proverbial "pork barrel" of the rivers and harbors. Until the United States government definitely

adopts a policy in regard to water transportation and finds some method of developing long-range plans which will displace the annual drive for federal funds for local improvements we are sure to see these spectacles repeated. The budget should not annually be submitted to this strain.

Even the rivers and harbors appropriations, however, will not "break" the budget. The definite accomplishments of the bureau, the manifest expedition of the nation's business, the ground-work plans which are being laid to learn more accurately how estimates are made and what the supporting evidence may be, have already won for the budget bureau very strong popular approval.

H. J.

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*An Error
Corrected* We regret a statement of error, occurring through haste and pressure of work, in the article by Dr. Wm. H. Allen, entitled "The United States Comptroller General and His Opportunities," in the February issue of the REVIEW. At Dr. Allen's request we are glad to set his readers straight with respect to the appointment of this officer. He is named by the president with the advice and consent of the senate and is not appointed by joint resolution of congress, as the article stated.

H. W. DODDS.

HIGH SPOTS IN THE REPORT OF OUR COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE

PRESENTED AT THE PHILADELPHIA MEETING

The full report has been referred to the Council with power and will be published if they so authorize. The editor will be glad to have your comments for the guidance of the Council. :: :: :: ::

THE chief recommendation of the committee is that there should be centralized employment supervision and control in the public service and that the civil service commission is the natural agency to perform this function.

On the ground that co-operation, the basis of sound personnel administration, has not been realized between the responsible officials and the typical civil service commission, and further that it is not likely to be realized under the present system, the committee recommends that the civil service commission itself be reconstituted. In order to bring this about the following recommendations are made:

1. That a single civil service commissioner be appointed with indeterminate tenure of office.
2. That the mayor (or commissioner or city manager) appoint the commissioner from an eligible list of three, which list results from the competitive examination given by a special examining board to candidates qualifying as employment managers.
3. That the examining board consist of three persons, all of whom are acquainted with the employment field and at least one of whom must have been or be an official of a civil service commission.
4. That one of the members of the examining board shall be named by the mayor, one by the local super-

intendent of schools and the third by the first two.

5. That the salary of the commissioner be commensurate with the salaries paid other administrative officials performing comparable functions.
6. That the appropriations for the work of the commission be materially increased, so that the commissioner may have a staff qualified to co-operate effectively with the various administrators.
7. That removal shall be possible after the filing of charges and a public hearing before the executive.

CLOSER CO-OPERATION UNDER THE MERIT SYSTEM

The committee is of the opinion that the plan proposed will result: (1) in closer co-operation between the personnel and the administrative agencies; and (2) at the same time in conserving the standards of the merit system. The reasons for this opinion are:

Co-operation: The mayor (or comparable official) appoints one member and through him partially controls another member of the examining board and, further, he has the selection of the appointee from a list of three. Final decision as to removal rests with him, it is true, but it must be justified before the bar of public opinion. In the case of appointment and removal, therefore, the chief executive exercises a considerable amount of power.

Other reasons for anticipating real co-operation center about the character of the commissioner. Qualified as an employment manager and selected by men who have an understanding of modern employment methods, he should win a place for himself "inside the works" by his competency. If there is a technique of employment administration, as there is, for instance, of accounting, assessments or purchasing, the head of the employment department should have such vital contributions to make that his advice and counsel would be sought after and followed. The committee believes that there is such a technique and that its success in functioning depends on co-operation and results in co-operation.

Standards of Merit: The assignment of equal power to the superintendent of schools and the mayor in the appointment of the special board of examiners is due to the conviction that the superintendent of schools is the public official in the municipality who is most unlikely to be swayed by political considerations. It is believed that his co-operation in the matter of appointing the board will generally guarantee that considerable weight will be given to merit in the work of the board.

The committee is also of the opinion that an employment specialist selected because of competency and accepted by the officials because of his contributions will probably further the interests of the merit system more than a partially outside body, such as the typical civil service commission which is bipartisan in origin, subject to continuous change, and untrained in handling employment problems.

BETTER FINANCIAL SUPPORT

No argument seems called for in support of the recommendation for

proper financing of the civil service commission. The salary of a commissioner in charge of 1,000 or more employees should be commensurate with his responsibilities and proportionate to the salaries paid officials of similar rank. Furthermore, anyone acquainted with the inner workings of the typical civil service commission appreciates the need of more generous appropriations for the staff and the work of administration. One of the chief causes of criticisms directed against civil service commissions is doubtless through lack of staff to perform adequately, if at all, the functions ascribed to them by law.

Since the committee contemplates that the commission will perform these various functions and thus become the personnel agency of government, an increase in appropriations is a necessary condition for the success of the proposal.

Finally the committee recommends that the civil service commission bring about the appointment of personnel committees, consisting in equal parts of staff representatives and those elected by the rank and file of the employees. It is proposed that these committees should meet with and advise the civil service commissioner in the development of the employment policy and in the improvement of the standards of public service.

This recommendation is quite in line with recent developments in private industry, where it has led to a better spirit of co-operation and improved standards of efficiency.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry S. Dennison, Chairman,
President, Dennison Manufacturing Company.

W. E. Mosher, Secretary,
National Institute of Public
Administration.
Wm. C. Beyer,
Philadelphia Bureau of Mu-
nicipal Research.
Morris B. Lambie,
Secretary, Municipal Research
Bureau of Minnesota.

Charles P. Messick, Secretary and
Chief Examiner, New Jersey
State Civil Service Commis-
sion.
John Steven, Chief Examiner,
New York State Civil Service
Commission.
Whiting Williams,
Labor Investigator and Author.

GAINS AGAINST THE NUISANCES

III. SMOKE ABATEMENT

BY O. P. HOOD¹

THE shortage of anthracite coal in many eastern cities brings a new factor into the city smoke problem. Communities that have used anthracite almost exclusively are now compelled to use some substitute, and this substitute is likely to be a smoky fuel. This condition must be faced more and more, since the peak of anthracite production has probably been reached, and the needs of a growing community cannot be met by more anthracite coal. So far as maintaining comfortable temperatures is concerned, this is not a serious matter, since by far the larger number of people in the country have never had any anthracite coal, and have long ago adapted themselves to other fuels. The easterner, however, dreads the smoke and smudge of the more volatile fuels, and those who enforce the smoke ordinance have a difficult task in deciding to what degree they can demand a smokeless stack, and when such a demand would be unreasonable.

¹ Chief Mechanical Engineer, U. S. Bureau of Mines. Article furnished by request of American Civic Association.

WIDE DIVERSITY OF SMOKE MAKERS

Our smoke ordinances vary in their tolerance from an absolute prohibition of smoke to an ineffective looseness. Not only does the legal standard vary, but the demand of the community varies widely. In a town with few industries and with the domestic consumer burning anthracite, a single plume of light gray smoke is noticeable and, perhaps, objectionable, whereas in communities that have always lived with soft coal the same stack might be commended for its moderation. Again, the problem is complicated by the type of fuel burning equipment of a town. In Salt Lake City, Utah, there was a gradual increase in smoke density, until it seriously menaced the reputation of the place as one desirable for tourists. About one fourth of this was found to come from domestic fuel. On the other hand, in a small town in West Virginia that had a much more serious smoke problem, it was found that 90 per cent of the smoke was made by the railroad, either in locomotives, yards or shops, and that there was practically no smoke from domestic equipment, as houses were heated

with natural gas. Each place has its peculiarities of topography, wind and weather, and diversity of smoke makers.

The smoke problem has been a difficult one, both technically and administratively, for several hundred years, and it is not likely that any happy solution awaits us in the immediate future. It is possible to burn almost any fuel smokelessly, but it may not be practical to do this with any reasonable expenditure for equipment or labor. As a technical fact, even dense black smoke contains, perhaps, only one or two per cent of the actual fuel substance of the coal, but it should be said immediately that in the great majority of cases black smoke is made because of inefficient combustion conditions. It is also true that a perfectly clear stack does not necessarily indicate efficient combustion.

THE HUMAN FACTOR LARGE

There are two parts to the smoke problem, the fuel burning equipment and the human factor, and of these the human factor is by far the larger problem. In most of our smoky cities there are periodic efforts at smoke abatement. These efforts are usually conceived in irritation and anger, and threats are made of using a big stick to produce results. Meetings of various organizations follow, and, without adequate knowledge, indictments of guilt are drawn against some part of the community. There often follows the passage of an ordinance and the setting up of new regulatory machinery to clear the skies. This machinery, in a year or two, becomes a political cog in the city administration, ceases to be effective, and things slip into the old condition awaiting a revival and repe-

tion of the cycle. This sort of intermittent effort is all wasted.

Smoke abatement requires steady, persistent effort, the same as problems connected with public safety, public health, fire protection and education. The problem is both technical and administrative, and is a long-time problem requiring continuous, intelligent effort that must be paid for. It is only when a community fully realizes this fact that there is much hope for lasting results. When approached properly the first move is to discover the actual facts as to who produces the smoke, and how much each is responsible for. There are ways of expressing this in figures which are accepted in a court of law. Thus in Salt Lake City, in the year July 1, 1918 to June 30, 1919, it could be said that the percentage of smoke made by different classes of plants was as follows: Industrial power and large heating plants 44.58 per cent; small heating plants 9.04 per cent; locomotives 18.38 per cent; residences 21.83 per cent; miscellaneous 6.17 per cent. The record was so kept that individual offenders knew the record of his smoke producing stack. The next step is to offer to co-operate with the object of reducing smoke. It is here that a good order of technical knowledge must be available as each plant furnishes a problem by itself that must be handled with good sense and a knowledge of what is possible and reasonable. Handled in this manner a large percentage of the cases are cured with satisfaction to the owner, and often greatly to his financial advantage. There is usually only a small remainder of obdurate, persistent offenders that require the harsher methods of the law, and for these an ordinance is necessary. An ordinance is useless, however, unless there is mechanism for enforcing it.

FURNACES BADLY DESIGNED

One of the greatest handicaps to smoke abatement is that there are many installations of furnaces designed without regard to smokeless combustion. In an earlier and less critical time these forms became more or less standard, and continue to be installed. Often new plants cannot be operated smokelessly. Architects are, as a rule, the most backward in recognizing that sufficient space, height and draft are necessary for smokeless furnaces. The most necessary element of smoke abatement is to see that new installations all go in in such form that smokeless combustion is possible, and that as repairs and remodeling of old plants become necessary they, too, should

meet a requirement for smokelessness. All plans for such work should receive the approval of the engineer in charge of smoke abatement. It is here that one recognizes the need of continuous effort and the necessity of engineering control.

The United States Bureau of mines has conducted two smoke surveys, one in a moderate sized city, Salt Lake City, Utah, and one in a small railroad town. The facts obtained made improvement possible and co-operation easy and natural. Future conditions can be accurately compared with the present. The object of these surveys was to indicate what, in the opinion of the bureau, is the rational way of procedure to change a smoky town to one of clear skies.

HOME RULE IN UTILITY REGULATION

PROPOSED FOR NEW YORK CITIES BY GOVERNOR SMITH

BY JOHN BAUER, PH.D.

New York City

To the cities themselves is to be delegated the regulation of public utilities within their borders now exercised by a state commission.

IN his message to the legislature, January 3, 1923, Governor Smith proposed far-reaching changes in the public service commissions law of the state of New York.

No bill representing Governor Smith's ideas has yet been introduced in the legislature, so that this survey must be based upon the general outline of his message. The most sweeping single proposal is to delegate to the cities the regulation of public utilities within their borders and to let them provide such machinery as may be necessary for the purpose. There

would be, however, a state commission to take charge of inter-municipal regulation or to act in behalf of the cities which do not wish to regulate directly. The proposal includes also the fullest right of the city to acquire, own and operate public utility properties.

There is no doubt that state regulation as carried on since the public service commissions law was enacted has not worked satisfactorily. The reasons for the failure are numerous and were outlined by the writer in the articles entitled *The Deadlock in Public Utility Regulation*, published in the

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW during the past year and a half. In those articles, the idea of transferring the regulatory power to the municipalities was not considered, but it was urged that the cities should have the right and responsibility to determine for themselves their local public utility policies and to use the state commission for the power to carry out their purposes. The governor's proposal, however, is thoroughly sound and it was not presented by the writer because of the improbability, as it seemed at the time, of getting the idea seriously considered. The improbability has now been suddenly transformed; the proposal can probably be enacted into law if the cities of the state actively support it,—if they really want the power and bring all possible pressure upon the legislature for the purpose.

WOULD CONFUSION RESULT?

This is the most important matter seriously presented to the legislature on the large subject of home rule. In the effort to defeat the proposal all sorts of arguments will be presented, but the most plausible ones will be these three: (1) That local regulation would be impracticable because such a large proportion of the corporations operate beyond the limits of any one municipality, (2) that with the exception of the city of New York and possibly two or three of the other larger cities, the expense of local regulation would be prohibitive, and (3) that with the large number of cities fixing rates there would be a lack of uniform policies resulting in confusion and in great increase in public utility litigation carried to the courts.

As to the first point, there will be some difficulty for the cities to exercise regulation within their own borders where the companies furnish service also in outside territory. In a large

proportion of cases the companies operate in two or more municipalities and furnish service not included in any city. This, however, will be no insuperable obstacle to intelligent and effective local regulation. No city would have jurisdiction outside of its own territory. There would be no difficulty in fixing the local quantity or quality of service, or prescribing standards of safety or other conditions of operation. As to rates, however, there will be the problem of apportioning the joint costs incurred by a company in the city and outside. But this can be handled, and in fact, it is the same problem which the state commissions have had in fixing rates for a city when the company operated over a wider area.

As to the second point, it is true that with few exceptions the cities will not be able to maintain independent commissions with a regular technical staff to provide the facts for intelligent and effective regulation. But such commissions are not required except where they are justified by the size of the cities and the scope of the work. In most cases the local authorities can base all necessary orders upon periodical and systematic reports made by competent engineering and financial experts. It is true that intelligent and effective action must be based upon facts which can be supplied only by highly trained and experienced men, but in most cases these men do not need to be employed continuously. A comprehensive report and recommendations made once a year, supplemented by quarterly surveys, would usually be sufficient to furnish the cities all necessary information for proper action.

Any city without a regular expert staff of its own can enter readily into reasonable agreements with public utility experts at very moderate cost.

Moreover, the cities can co-operate in various ways so as to use jointly a staff of competent experts with a pooling of costs in proportion to the services rendered. Such methods of co-operation were outlined by the writer in one of the articles already referred to.

RESPONSIBILITY PROPERLY RESTS WITH LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Even if the proposed local regulation is not carried out and state regulation is continued, the cities will still face the inevitable responsibility of working out their own individual public utility policies. Experience has demonstrated that whatever the theory of control may be, the people of any city look to the local authorities for active protection of their interests as consumers. This responsibility cannot be dodged, but it is a question whether it is intelligently and effectively carried out.

In any event, therefore, the cities face the problem of providing themselves systematically at moderate expense adequate expert service to formulate and carry out intelligent local public utility policies. For this purpose, even under state regulation they should have the right to appear before any state commission or any court in all matters relating to public utilities operating within their borders. To

make state regulation effective, they must provide exactly the same fact-getting machinery as would be required to carry out reasonable local regulation. The expense, therefore, should not be charged against the desirability of the proposed legislation.

Nor should the third point,—the lack of uniformity in procedure and the increase in public utility litigation carried to the court,—weigh seriously against the proposal. The statute, however, should define as definitely as possible the basis of all procedure, defining clearly the rights of the investors as well as the rights of the public. Particularly the basis of return to investors should be clearly prescribed so as to eliminate once for all the chief source of dispute, litigation, expense and deadlock. In any order, however, the city authorities would face the same quasi judicial responsibilities as have the state commissions heretofore, and in the same way they would have to avoid the confiscation of property. If in any matter a company is dissatisfied, it would have the right to appeal to the courts, or possibly first to the proposed state-wide commission, with jurisdiction outside of the several cities. It would lose no fundamental right, and justice would not be endangered.

CALIFORNIA STICKS TO THE I. AND R.

BY DR. JOHN RANDOLPH HAYNES

Los Angeles

Within the past three years there have been three concerted efforts to emasculate the initiative in California. Twice has it been voted on by the people. The opposition has more in mind than mere antagonism to the single tax. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE people of California again declared their independence and their belief in the principles of direct legislation when they defeated an attempt to cripple the use of the initiative in that state by a majority of 120,652 at the November election, the total vote upon this measure being 636,670.

California adopted the initiative, referendum and recall in 1911 by a vote of three to one, and if the vote this year is any indication, they have never regretted the act.

INITIATIVE USED 51 TIMES IN 11 YEARS

In the eleven years since the adoption of direct legislation (including the measures on the November, 1922, ballot), the initiative has been used to put 51 measures before the people.

Out of this number 15 have been adopted and have become laws. These include such measures as the act prohibiting prize fighting, the veterans validating act, the alien land law, a bond issue for the state university, a law providing for a state budget, an act prohibiting members of the legislature from holding other office during their legislative term, a law regulating usury, etc.

These are all wise laws and the people have shown great discrimination in their decisions.

The referendum has been used 19 times and in only six cases has the

legislature been sustained, showing very conclusively that it is an essential part of government if the will of the majority is to rule.

The initiative has been consistently attacked at every session of the legislature since it became part of the constitution, but its enemies have met with no success. In earlier years they tried to prohibit the use of the initiative in submitting certain types of legislation to the people, such as prohibition. More recently, since they failed to make any headway along these lines, they have centered their efforts on attempts to restrict the use of the initiative in matters concerning taxation, their contention being that the people cannot decide wisely on financial matters.

It is both interesting and significant to note that the state of California is supported entirely by a direct tax on corporations and not an ad valorem tax. A direct tax on real estate and personal property is levied only for city and county purposes.

An organization known as the People's Anti-Single Tax League was formed about 1917 ostensibly for the purpose of working against single tax legislation. That their activities had a broader scope is indicated by their suggestion for an initiative amendment published in November, 1917, which reads as follows: "If an initiative

measure submitted to the people were defeated by a vote of 4 to 3, the measure could not be submitted again for eight years; if defeated by a vote of 3 to 2, it could not be submitted again for twenty years; and if defeated by a vote of 2 to 1, it was settled for all time."

THE 1920 MOVEMENT

In the early months of 1920, having failed to get a similar measure passed by the legislature, this so-called People's Anti-Single Tax League circulated initiative petitions and placed on the ballot a constitutional amendment requiring initiative petitions concerning the assessment or collection of taxes, or *providing for the modification or repeal of this amendment*, to be signed by 25 per cent of the voters of the state instead of 8 per cent as at present. While this was aimed at single tax, it did not specify single tax but applied to *any change* in the taxation system of the state. The claim was made that no taxation measures other than single tax had ever appeared on the state ballot. This was easily refuted, for an initiative measure repealing the poll tax had been adopted a few years ago and there were on the 1920 ballot two measures affecting education which would also have come under this classification. One provided for an increase in the appropriations for the public schools from state funds and the other called for the establishment of an ad valorem tax for the benefit of the state university.

The campaign in favor of the amendment was conducted by the People's Anti-Single Tax League which was actively supported by banks, chambers of commerce, and large business interests. The campaign against the measure was conducted by the League to Protect the Initiative which numbered several thousand individuals among its active members.

When the vote was counted in November, 1920, it was found that the measure had been buried under a majority of 123,598. Every county in the state gave a majority against the measure except one—Alpine, the smallest in the state, where only thirty votes were cast.

When the legislature met in 1921, the attack on the initiative was renewed under many guises. None of the amendments ever came to a vote in either house. The 25 per cent amendment, defeated at the polls in November, was reintroduced in the legislature and came out of the senate committee amended to 15 per cent, but even so was not voted on.

ATTACK REPEATED IN 1922

Early in 1922 there were rumors that an amendment would be on the November ballot. Again making use of the instrument they seek to destroy, the People's Anti-Single Tax League circulated initiative petitions and at almost the last moment for filing, placed on the ballot a measure identical with the one defeated in 1920 except that they had adopted the change in percentage suggested at the legislature and reduced the requirement from 25 to 15 per cent.

This measure was supported by the same interests which supported the 1920 measure and was again heralded as the amendment necessary to save the state from the "single tax menace."

The League to Protect the Initiative again conducted the campaign in defense of the initiative and devoted itself to presenting the true facts of the case to the people, having confidence that the people could be trusted to act wisely. They particularly emphasized the fact that although there had been a single tax measure on the ballot at every election since 1912, the majority against the proposition was steadily

growing. In 1920 it amounted to 366,000, so it was easy to show that it was not necessary to destroy the initiative in order to save the state from single tax. That this point was well taken is shown by the fact that the 1922 majority against single tax increased to 391,000, while the vote for single tax decreased from 196,694 in 1920 to 124,403 in 1922.

In spite of the fact that the 1922 proposition only called for an increase in the percentage of signatures from 8 to 15 per cent, instead of from 8 to 25 per cent, the majorities by which the two measures were defeated were almost identical. In 1920 the majority was 123,598 and in 1922 it was 120,653. In proportion to the size of the vote cast in the two years, the 1922 majority was higher.

LAW AMENDED TO COMPEL FILING OF ACCOUNTS

The one amendment to the initiative law adopted at the 1921 legislature, was one which required all individuals, organizations or corporations spending more than \$1,000 in any campaign to influence the voters for or against any initiative or referendum measure to file with the secretary of state a de-

tailed and itemized account of their receipts and expenditures five days prior to an election, and a supplementary account not less than twenty days after the election.

Notwithstanding the fact that it costs from five to six thousand dollars to put an initiative measure on the ballot through paid solicitors, and that they distributed a large amount of printed matter through the mails, the People's Anti-Single Tax League did not file a statement of expenses. The League to Protect the Initiative filed a full and complete statement.

At the present time the initiative holds a strong position in California, with these two decisive popular defeats of attempts to hamper its use on two successive elections. The people have plainly indicated that they believe in its principle and want to retain it. The big interests would do well to follow their own advice and consider the question settled for all time to come.

The legislature met January, 1923, and at this writing it remains to be seen whether the enemies of popular government will renew the attack. If they should do so, there is no doubt but that they will be overwhelmingly defeated again.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BUDGET

BY LENT D. UPSON

Director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Public budgets are generally meaningless to voters. Intelligent contact between government and people has not been established. It remains to translate the budget figures into terms of service, of work to be accomplished as well as things purchased. :: :: ::

THE term "budget" has become a shibboleth to economy, and in these days of riotous public expenditure, most cities, some states, and a few counties have accepted a respectable budget procedure as a means of retrenchment.

Some magic quality has wrought economies, but that quality has not coped successfully with the mounting costs of government, nor has it made the budget, as prophesied, "one of the most potent instruments of democracy."

The functionalized and segregated budget—a fine mouth-filling phrase—was developed by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in 1907, to correct what now appear as obvious defects in financial methods. The new procedure provided that estimates would no longer be submitted on miscellaneous stationery, but would appear on proper forms with comparable statistics of past costs; the administrative head of the government would be charged with correlating these estimates into an administrative program for consideration by the legislative body; expense would be limited by income; appropriations would be made by the principal functions of government,—such as street cleaning,—instead of by principal departments; and the estimates would be segregated according to a uniform classification,—

hence the term "functionalized and segregated."

There are other details, but they may be passed. It has required fifteen years to make "budget" a common word in kitchens, manufactories, and legislatures. Unintended and extravagant expenditures have been revealed and eliminated; business-like purchasing facilitated; and a "budget conscience" developed in public officials in proportion as public interest has quickened.

But such budget procedure, valuable as it has been, does not meet present-day requirements. It is therefore suggested that further development in four respects is desirable:

ACTIVITIES SHOULD APPEAR IN THE BUDGET

First, the activity rather than the function should be made the organization unit of appropriation. For example, police protection is a function of government. Foot-patrol, traffic control, and detection of crime, are among the principal activities that constitute police protection. Neither legislators nor the public can measure the emphasis being placed upon activities by administrative officers unless such activities appear in the budget, and are adhered to as authorized.

During every so-called crime wave, public departments are criticised for

checking up overtime parking while gun men are at large. Yet seldom are either citizens or authorities in a position to say what proportion of the department is actually working on crime prevention. Similarly, the frequent comparisons of police departments on basis of area or population appear almost worthless unless the relative strengths detailed to traffic, detective, harbor, sanitation, and clerical forces are known. Police departments are only illustrative. The same principle applies to most others.

A CONCRETE PLAN OF EXPECTED ACCOMPLISHMENT

Second, the budget procedure should set up a complete picture of what it is hoped to accomplish ultimately by governmental means. To illustrate: A city on account of its high infant mortality decides to enter the field of home nursing. The health authorities request an appropriation to provide for a number of visiting nurses who call at each home after a baby is born and make additional calls if the character of the home is such as to render such calls of value. A reduction in the infant death rate follows. In the next budget, more nurses are requested and a further reduction of the death rate is secured. Corollary activities may be inaugurated, such as additional milk inspection, free milk stations, free clinics for children, school inspection, and eventually school feeding. The lowering of the death rate is a highly desirable thing. Public health is purchasable. By the mere expenditure of funds, human life can be saved. Babies are precious, no matter what their heredity, and besides it can be demonstrated that it costs the municipality less to save them than it does for the private individual to bury them. All this supports an appeal for more funds. But there is seldom a

single word in the appeal that gives the administrator, the council, or the public a picture of the ideal to be accomplished. No one knows whether the department of health is doing 1 per cent or 80 per cent of the job a municipality may be expected to do in this connection. Nobody has stated the practical minimum death rate that can be expected, the cost in dollars to secure that death rate, and the plans made for approaching that ideal.

In other words, a request for funds, whether it applies to death rates, clean streets, or the use of playgrounds, has no quantitative value until compared with some other figure. The problem of budget making is not to deal with generalities but to deal in specific percentages of possible accomplishments. To this end, when a request is being made upon the legislative body for funds, such a request should be accompanied by a statement of exactly what ideal the department head expects to approach in that particular service, indicate what percentage of that ideal can be achieved through the appropriation requested, and leave the ideal open to criticism by those who may not be as enthusiastic about the project as the specialist in charge.

WORK UNITS

Third, it is suggested that the budget be expressed in terms of work to be accomplished as well as in material things to be purchased. Commissioners of public health, public works, and recreation, seldom say: "If you will give me so much more money I can make so many more visits by nurses, save so many more lives, clean so many more units of streets, and provide recreation for so many more children." These matters may be discussed informally and incompletely before the legislative body, but they are seldom set down in intelligible shape for public information

and with a knowledge of how closely we are approaching the ideal to be accomplished. It was a great improvement in budget making when lump sum appropriations were broken into a uniform classification of things to be bought with the money appropriated. The next big step in budget making may be when these segregated items are put together again in terms of actual units of results to be secured. The merits of such a proposal appear too obvious to warrant lengthy discussion.

UNIT COSTS SHOULD BE SHOWN

Fourth, in support of the proposed work program, should appear a statement of the actual unit cost of work done and estimated unit cost of work proposed. The preceding items have been concerned with quantity and quality of work but not primarily with its cost. This last recommendation has to do entirely with costs. The conception of an ideal administration of public affairs may be summed up in the phrase, "a business administration." But private business through the income statement and balance sheet has automatic measures of the merit of its budget and its operations. Of course the budget in industry is in its infancy. Public business has no such automatic and definite measures. There is no profit or loss, and surpluses and deficits are not necessarily an indication that an administration has been good or bad, but only whether there has been a careful adherence to appropriations. The public balance sheet, when it exists, does not furnish even a rough criterion of efficiency and adequacy of services.

Further, there is no competition in public business, which is the great stimulus to effective and wasteless operation in private business. It is seldom that one can turn to a city ac-

tivity such as a public lodging house and say it costs \$1.50 a day per inmate as opposed to 40 cents a day for a guest at a Mills hotel, to quote from a recent *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*. Rarely is a city in direct competition with private industry, and when it is, the operating figures are usually too obscure to permit comparisons.

Effective budget figures must be based upon operating unit cost figures and be so framed that comparisons can be made between one year and another, between sections of the same city, and between similar cities. Then it will be reasonable to expect commissioners of public health, street cleaning, and recreation to say in support of their budget requests, "During the current year with the money received, I performed so many units of work, each unit cost so much, these unit cost figures compare in such and such a fashion with the figures of a year ago and the reasons for the unit decrease or increase are these. Next year I propose to do so many additional units of work and I anticipate that my unit cost will be such and such." If such were the case, it would soon be possible to add that the unit cost of performing similar activities in such and such cities are these, and the reasons for divergence be explained.

These facts in connection with the production of services for the benefit of the public are as essential as they are in the manufacture of automobiles for the mutual benefit of the public and stockholders. The only reason these facts have not been developed is because the public has furnished practically unlimited funds for which no detailed accounting has been necessary. In other words, there has been no development of the audit, just as there has been no development of budget procedure. Every year cities spend thousands of dollars seeing that ex-

penditures are not made unless properly authorized, in examining the additions of vouchers, and in assuring the public that their servants have been honest in the strictest sense of the word. But scarcely a penny is spent for auditing operations, in checking the effectiveness of these honest expenditures, in indicating the amount of work produced, and in assuring the public that their servants have been efficient as well as honest. The next step in budget making is to make the operating audit just as essential as the financial audit.

OPERATING REPORTS

Now an operation audit means operating reports. Facts cannot be gotten annually for the appropriation ordinance unless facts are currently available for administrative guidance. If the administrator knows daily the units of work and the unit costs of such work, he is in a position to check daily the operations of subordinates. He may have before him daily, monthly, and yearly, consolidated statements of such operations which will permit him to modify his methods and meet the exigencies of occasions. Such consolidated reports coming from

every department and covering every activity of the city,—and there are perhaps only a hundred measurable activities in every city,—furnish in turn, to the chief administrator, the city manager, or the mayor, or whatever you may choose to call him, an equally clear statement of the progress of his departments from day to day, week to week, and month to month. Given to the press and to the public, these operating statements would furnish an outside check, that should go a long way towards stimulating a degree of efficiency in public business at present unknown.

Also, such operating reports would provide simple tests of administration that would facilitate public judgment upon the government of any city, and comparison between cities. Conclusions then need no longer be drawn from vague impressions, prejudices, and newspaper headlines, but could be based upon readily ascertainable facts.

Nothing has been said here that students of applied political science have not been discussing for as much as ten years. But perhaps the mere restatement of these principles may hasten their materialization.

THE MUNICIPAL AIR TERMINAL

BY ARCHIBALD BLACK

Consulting Aeronautical Engineer, Garden City, N. Y.

The importance of aircraft terminals to the city; why they should be municipally controlled; the steps necessary to create them and how construction cost may be kept down. :: :: :: ::

LOCATION "on the airline" is destined to become of great importance to all cities and probably of vital importance to the lesser cities. This is not a matter to be relegated to the civic successors of some dim and distant date; it is a matter which should be carefully considered to-day. No means of transport which offers so much in the way of increased speed can long remain as little used as aircraft are used to-day. The growth will come very soon and will probably be very rapid when it does come. It therefore behooves the civic officials to look ahead a year or two and make some provision for aircraft landings before the one or two really suitable sites in their particular locality are either snapped up by some air transport firm or are devoted to some other purposes.

THE MUNICIPALITY MUST CONTROL THE BEST SITE

Strange though it may sound, most cities have only a few sites which are entirely suitable for air terminal purposes. If these are left to be developed by some air transportation corporation, to-morrow the city may find itself at this firm's mercy so far as rapid inter-city transportation is concerned. The obvious solution is the provision of an air terminal owned or controlled by the municipality and open to all on even terms. Hangar space and other facilities can be leased to private owners,

small operators, and also to air transport firms when the latter serve the city in question. Such arrangement, if the site is carefully selected and the terminal properly planned, puts the municipality in control of the situation from the start. In addition, it offers the greatest possible inducement to air transportation firms and to occasional flyers to make that city a stopping point on their way, if not the end of their journey.

DANGER OF BEING MISLED BY LIMITED ACTIVITY OF TO-DAY

Several of the largest cities in the country, such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, Kansas City and many others, have already given serious consideration to this problem. Some of these have already constructed municipal air terminals, while others are now contemplating similar action. This should impress doubters with the fact that this talk of airlines within the next few years is not confined to visionaries or to little towns looking for publicity. Hard-headed business men throughout the country have sufficient appreciation of this to favor liberal expenditures, by their respective cities, to ensure their being on the air routes. Detroit recently passed a referendum authorizing the city officials to construct "several aviation fields." And Detroit is recognized for its ability to anticipate the future.

STEPS TOWARDS A MUNICIPAL AIR TERMINAL

When any city decides to investigate the practicability of establishing a municipal air terminal, the first step should be that of appointing a municipal air terminal commission. The work of this commission would be that of studying possible air terminal sites within the city limits or sufficiently close to these for practical purposes. This is somewhat of a technical matter and should be handled by either a well-rounded committee or by an air terminal specialist engaged by them for the purpose. In the primary selection of sites, the following elements should be given consideration (although not necessarily in the order given) and the report should be prepared by some engineer who is sufficiently familiar with every one of these to balance intelligently each of them against the others:

- Adaption to airplane use.
- Adaption to seaplane use.
- Adaption to airship use.
- Meteorological conditions throughout the year.
- Location with reference to other air stations, the airway and city.
- Type of soil and its drainage.
- Transportation facilities.
- Communication facilities.
- Available water, electric power, etc.
- Surrounding territory and its effect upon use of the site.
- Local meteorological characteristics which might affect use of site.
- Cost of the property.
- Extent to which the terminal may be used.

CONSIDERATION OF SITES

After the various sites which are being considered have been investigated along these lines, it will usually result in the elimination of the most of this original list and in the confining of further study to one or two sites. The next step, before acquiring any prop-

erty, should be the preparation of rough preliminary layouts for each of the remaining sites. These should be just sufficiently in detail to show which site is the most satisfactory all around, considering cost, safety and general suitability. A report, recommending a certain site or sites, can then be prepared, and the next step becomes that of negotiating for the lease or purchase of the most desirable site. Just how much of the report on the site should be made public before negotiations are closed will depend upon local conditions. As the property being considered will not usually be a class which changes hands frequently, it may be possible to obtain a short-term purchase option without cost and as one of the conditions of consideration of each site. This would eliminate attempts to increase the asking prices for properties upon completion of the report.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE TERMINAL

When the proposed arrangements of terminals are being worked out on paper, each of the features previously mentioned should be considered. In addition, careful consideration should be given to each of the following additional points:

- Orientation of site to be purchased.
- Arrangement of runways for taking-off and landing.
- Grading and surfacing of field.
- Drainage of field, if required.
- Arrangement of seaplane launching ways, if any.
- Location of mooring space, fairway and channel, if seaplane station.
- Building arrangement.
- Provision for future expansion, either on property being considered or on adjoining property.

After the matter of acquisition of the site has been disposed of, and when the final plans for the terminal are being prepared, the following points

should be added to those already given for consideration:

Building construction.
Runway and roadway construction.
Fire protection.
Insurance considerations.
Field and international markers.
Station maintenance equipment.
Station operating equipment.
Aircraft repair equipment.
Night flying equipment.

At the risk of it being regarded as propaganda for the landing field engineer, let me, once again, stress the importance of having this work properly balanced. It is asking too much of even the best of pilots to expect him to work out a balanced arrangement unless he has made each phase of the work a special study for a few years. If the services of some landing field engineer cannot be obtained, I would advise (as the best substitute) that a committee be appointed to select the field and work out the arrangement and that this committee include the following men:

A capable, all-around, aeronautical engineer.
An airplane pilot (where airplanes are to be provided for).
A seaplane pilot (where seaplanes are to be provided for).
An airship pilot (where airships are to be provided for).
A meteorologist with aeronautical experience.
A grading and field drainage engineer.
A building constructor, familiar with buildings for industrial purposes.
A roadway engineer, familiar with the less expensive types.
A fire protection or safety engineer.
An insurance engineer with aircraft experience.
Air station manager or field mechanic familiar with equipment.
Real estate expert, familiar with local values.

This imposing committee is not necessary if the services of a landing field specialist are available. He can be relied upon to obtain, from such men

as are included above, what information may be necessary to supplement his own knowledge, while his experience enables him properly to balance each viewpoint.

IMMEDIATE NECESSITY FOR AN AIR TERMINAL

It is, by no means, essential that a terminal be completely equipped at the start. What is far more important is the provision of a suitable site with very limited equipment but the development of which has been started along a very comprehensive plan including provision for additions to the buildings and equipment from time to time as conditions warrant. The first essential is the provision of runways for airplanes to take-off from and land upon. (If the terminal is to provide for seaplanes, some launching ways, or similar means, will also become essential.) The dimensions of runways required will be affected by the altitude of field and type of machines, but for sea level and the general run of airplanes, they should be between 2,500 and 3,000 feet long. They should be arranged, with reference to the direction of the higher velocity prevailing winds, so that the airplanes may take-off directly into these winds for the greatest possible number of times. In considering the wind records, those winds of less than about 10 miles per hour may be neglected. The arrangement of runways is usually best obtained by the use of a square plot with runways arranged diagonally on it, although L or T-shaped plots can be used. Where such shapes are used, the legs of the T or L should not be less than about 1,000 feet wide. The site should be level within 2 per cent, preferably within 1 per cent. All mounds should be removed and hollows or ditches filled. A crop of tough, all-

year, grass should be raised and, if the soil drains poorly, an effort should be made to provide artificial drainage. If funds do not permit draining the entire field, it is advisable to drain the portion of the runways likely to be most used. These same portions should also be surfaced with cinders, gravel, or other available material, for a distance of about 1,000 feet, to a width of about 75 feet. If limited funds do not permit this amount of surfacing, the area might be decreased to 750 by 50 feet, which is probably the minimum area that is worth surfacing.

ESSENTIAL BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

As to the buildings and equipment necessary, the most advisable policy is that of developing a complete building arrangement in the plans and then providing immediately only such items as a gasoline and oil shed, hangar, wind indicator, field marker, fire extinguisher and telephone connection. As the use of the station grows, other buildings and equipment can be added in accordance with the original plans.

Only in this way can a really systematic arrangement be obtained when the station is fully developed at some future date. It is well to note here that, under certain conditions, the Air Service will agree to furnish hangars free of charge if these are erected at the expense of the city. In many other ways such as this, the initial outlay can be kept down.

To sum up, the urgent necessities are three: (1) Get a suitable site under municipal control; (2) prepare a comprehensive plan for its ultimate development; (3) construct as much of the planned development as available funds and the immediate use of the terminal justify. Above all, do not attempt to acquire any site, or to arrange an air terminal, without capable advice, and do not rely too greatly upon the advice of some ex-flyer with a fine war record but who is not in close touch with developments of the past four years. This advice, if heeded, may save both money and (what is much more important) life, later on.

CHICAGO'S OLD FIRST WARD

A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

BY HAROLD D. LASSWELL

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ONE aspect of the task of the systematic student of politics is to describe political behavior in those social situations which recur with sufficient frequency to make prediction useful as a preliminary to control. In every urban area large enough for segregation to take place there are substantial areas in which residential property is radically depreciated through the encroachment of business enterprises. When these are organized into a political unit under universal suffrage, they display somewhat distinctive types of political behavior. This paper is an attempt to describe such behavior, using the First Ward of Chicago as a case in point.

A DEPRECIATED RESIDENCE PROPERTY AREA

The First Ward includes the central business section and the light manufacturing and lodging house area to the south. The steady encroachment of industry has driven out the home makers, and but a tenth of the developed property of the ward is used for housing purposes.

1. Low rentals and proximity to transportation induce the *industrially handicapped* to congregate in this area, and this includes those who are handicapped by lack of funds, technical

skill, or language skill. On South State Street six blocks are given over to the casual laborers (the hoboes), with whom are billeted beggars, pan-handlers, peddlers and junk dealers. Twelve hundred Chinese are congregated in Clark Street below Van Buren and in the Wentworth-Archer-22nd Street triangle. At various places the South Italians, Sicilians, negroes and Austro-Hungarian nationalities are localized.

2. *Visitors* congregate near the depreciated property area because it is closely associated with the central business district in which the attractions of the city are located and where the railroad passenger terminals converge. Visitors spell mobility with its accompanying anonymity. Freed from the conventional restraints of the home environment, they are susceptible to new, and frequently unconventional, experiences.

3. *Moral rebels* find a congenial habitat in the disintegrated areas. These range from the erratic non-conformists—many artists, hoboes, and radicals—to the predatory groups who use the anonymous life of the locality as the base of operations against the propertied wards.

4. Wealthy clubmen with city-wide interests live in exclusive institutions

within the geographical confines of the ward, though scarcely participating in such neighborhood life as does exist.

In short, the depreciated residence property areas accentuate the disintegrative factors present in every community, and introduce sharp segregations about acquaintance nuclei which have practically nothing in common as far as the long-run interests of the neighborhood are concerned.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

What, then, are the typical political phenomena observed under the conditions sketched above, circumstances which are duplicated in varying degrees in every city? It must be understood, of course, that the statements here reflect merely quantitative degrees of difference as compared with the behavior of, let us say, residential neighborhoods.

1. Where the industrially handicapped live in large numbers and the government offers unskilled jobs on a patronage basis, some *leaders will emerge to act as intermediaries, dispensing jobs in return for political support.* John ("Bathhouse") Coughlin and Michael ("Hinky Dink") Kenna have closely knit precinct organizations which serve as informal employment agencies, connecting needy workers with the street cleaning department of the government and the construction gangs of utility companies. The industrially handicapped have, in times past, been advanced rent, fed, and sent on their way rejoicing and subject to call for political service.

EFFICIENCY MEASURES UNPOPULAR

2. When the power of the leaders depends on patronage and the jobless men of the area need work, it is not surprising to find that *leaders and the rank and file oppose efficiency measures and favor high expenditures.* The alder-

men of the First Ward opposed the extension of the merit system to street cleaners, opposed the competitive system of letting contracts, and voted against non-partisan committee organization of the city council. The willingness of the aldermen to boost appropriations accurately reflects the sentiment of the ward, as shown by the attitude of their constituents on a recent referendum as contrasted with the attitude of a wealthy residential ward:

SHALL \$8,000,000 IN BONDS BE ISSUED?

(February 22, 1921)

Ward	For	Against
1.....	6,374	889
7.....	5,673	7,608

3. Such a community, possessing moral non-conformers, wants "*personal liberty*" and acts toward men and measures on this basis. Personal liberty is taken to mean freedom from the imposition of the *mores* of the residential districts on the community, especially with reference to vice and the saloon. Alderman Coughlin, who has been the orator of the Kenna-Coughlin partnership, takes the personal liberty theme perennially. When the issue is drawn, the community rallies to the standard of its protectors. It was the 1914 campaign made by Miss Marion Drake on an anti-Coughlin-Kenna-vice platform which revealed the true attitude of the ward:

	Men	Women	Total
Coughlin, Dem.....	4,977	1,729	6,706
Drake, Prog.....	1,654	1,137	2,791

Miss Drake was assisted in her vigorous campaign by parades and demonstrations staged by art students and student nurses, and supported by ministers and social workers from all over the city. The women's clubs had long taken an interest in the morals of the First Ward (some members visiting

the burlesque shows personally to discover the depravity of the locality), and it is little exaggeration to say that the First Ward was honeycombed with moral reformers, inspectors, and investigators.

Naturally the people of the First Ward are tired of being examined by the curious from all over the city. They resent the interference of the moralists. They regard themselves and their chiefs as persecuted for personal liberty's sake. Nothing serves to consolidate the affection of the ward for "the little fellow" more closely than a "clean up" campaign engineered from outside or from the expensive hotels of the neighborhood.

THEY VOTE FAITHFULLY—THUS THEIR INFLUENCE IS DISPROPORTIONATE

4. The people *vote more faithfully than the electorate of the residential wards*, for the voters of these areas have more to gain immediately by participation, and these things are (1) freedom to live their lives according to their own code, and (2) opportunity for employment. The election of April 6, 1921, is not untypical. Although the Seventh Ward showed a registration 10 per cent higher relative to population than the First Ward, 27 per cent of the registered voters of the First Ward participated, as contrasted with 7 per cent of the Seventh Ward registrants who voted.

5. The disintegrated ward tends to *wield more than its proportionate influence in politics over short periods of time*. This is not only true because the First Ward has such a substantial proportion with tangible stakes in the government, but because it tends to be overrepresented between the decennial reapportionments. Before the last redistricting went into effect this ward had 46,000 people as compared with 150,000 in a rapidly growing ward,

the Twenty-Seventh. Disintegrated wards are "disappearing wards."

6. *Where large pecuniary interests require the exercise of government powers, the influence which the leaders possess by virtue of jobs and protection is freely used to satisfy them.* The aldermen from the First Ward have been favorable to, and occasionally initiators of, proposals for granting franchises condemned by the Municipal Voters' League as securing inadequate compensation for the city.¹ The aldermen have secured the passage of ordinances granting exceptional privileges to certain of the large downtown department stores.

Real estate firms tend to have a vested interest in the lax administration of law in these areas. During the period when property is incapable of yielding high incomes for residence purposes, large firms and many wealthy individuals purchase property as a speculation in anticipation of the rising tide of business. Commercialized vice is one of the most profitable sources of income during this period of transition, and large real estate firms outwardly respectable rent for houses of ill fame. The Chicago Vice Commission revealed that in 1910 eight of eleven large loop companies were willing to rent property for sporting house purposes, though many of the clients of these firms were innocent of the way in which their agents conducted business.

POLITICS A MAN-TO-MAN PROPOSITION

7. *The political leaders are men of their word. They know how to play the rôle of helping out a fellow who is temporarily unlucky.* Kenna declares in personal interview that "my success is due to honesty." His word is as good as his bond. Said a Salvation Army

¹ Specific instances cited in the M. V. L. summary of franchise legislation, 1898.

captain to the inquirer, " 'Hinky Dink' is the squarest man God ever made." And when these men give aid there are no questionnaires to fill out and no grand flourishes of the self-consciously beneficent. It is a man-to-man proposition. Personal and primary virtues of loyalty and fellowship are exalted; the reason oral bonds are observed so strictly is that some of the arrangements within the group will scarcely bear the scrutiny of the efficiency theorists of the residential wards.

8. *Leaders find that political manipulation offers a lucrative career.* Acquaintances are made by working in cigar stores, saloons, restaurants, lodging houses; or by engaging in a modest real estate and insurance business. "Politics pays" in Ward No. 1, and it offers a chance for the expansion of personality, for the control of men, and for the achievement of that distinction which comes from broad contacts and preoccupation as a "man of affairs." On the financial side it is a matter of common knowledge that Mr. Kenna's personal representatives in the real estate business are heavily interested in North Shore apartments.

BUT IMPROVEMENT GOES FORWARD

9. *When measured over a term of years, property improvements, administrative efficiency, and moral conformity have all been on the increase in these areas.* As far as property improvements are concerned, the reason for this has already been indicated with sufficient clearness—new boulevard lights, new public buildings, new paving spell jobs. In this particular the interest of the First Ward and the real estate men and residence owners is the same.

The increase in efficiency and moral restraint must be accounted for differently. In general, the residence wards

tend to be politically apathetic because political participation does not affect them so obviously as it does a large proportion of the lodging house areas, and because they have a greater range of interests. They leave the running of the government in the hands of the professionals, and if vice and crime do not become *too* conspicuous, and if property improvements are looked after, there is little to complain of. If there is a slight overcharge (sometimes called graft) on the part of the professionals, it may be regarded as a fee for special service.

But pressure for the enlargement of the fee and the loosening of judicial administration is persistently influencing the leaders of the depreciated property areas. Over a period of time this results in mounting taxes, some conspicuous instances of excess payment and a crime wave. The taxpayers of the residential wards are aroused from their lethargy, and a crusade for efficiency and righteousness in government takes place. The mayor, elected on a city-wide basis, is the target, and the council is quickened. New devices are put into effect and tend to become habitual. Thus it is that successive waves of crusading zeal, political cycles of reform, tend to leave progressively better conditions throughout the entire municipality. Rev. Johnston Myers, pastor of the famous Emanuel Baptist Church, says emphatically on this point that "Conditions are so much better now than they were twenty-eight years ago that there is no comparison. One couldn't go ten blocks in certain streets without being solicited by fifty women. Now all is changed."

Thus an accommodation exists between the property improvement-efficiency-moral residence wards and the job hunting-high expenditure-personal liberty lodging house areas. Because

these characteristics are mere variations of degree, the conflict is seldom clear cut, except in the crusading intervals.

And this accommodation will continue to exist, at least until the residents of the outlying wards provide adequate social machinery for administering to the needs of the industrially handi-

capped who seek refuge in the mobility wards. For, as we have seen, the foundation of the "boss system" is really laid in human ministering to human needs—human needs for personal help in getting a job, in getting adjusted to a new world, and in securing a career which brings its due of social recognition.

MAKING 'EM RIDE

THE CIVIC SIDE OF THE WEEKLY STREET CAR PASS

BY WALTER JACKSON

Fare and Bus Consultant, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Approximately thirty cities have introduced the weekly street car pass. It is transferable and you ride all you want to for a dollar or so a week.

In the summer of 1919, while engaged as fare consultant to the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company for its Racine (Wis.) lines, the writer found it desirable to recommend an adaptation of the old-time foreign season ticket. This he dubbed "The Unlimited Ride, Transferable Weekly Pass," a term that is almost self-explanatory. To make it entirely clear, however, the designation may be explained in parallel with the older style of unlimited-ride transportation that suggested the weekly variety.

"Unlimited ride" is common to most season tickets. Abroad, such tickets are good only for the original purchaser, whereas the writer suggested that they should be "transferable" or good for bearer. There were practical reasons for this. One was that we wished to popularize the pass, which meant the avoidance of contract forms and all special effort on the part of prospective purchasers. Therefore, unlike all preceding season tickets,

the weekly pass is purchasable on the car exactly as if one bought a single ride.

Another reason for making the pass "transferable" was the practical impossibility of identifying a passenger on a street car. This may be possible on a suburban train where the same conductor meets the same group of passengers every day and has ample time for inspection; but it is not possible in short-headway, crowded-car city operation. Therefore we made a virtue out of necessity by blazoning the fact that one could transfer his privilege of unlimited riding to others. Now, as a matter of fact, our advertising is intended to make the pass so useful in its purchaser's eyes that he will be most loath to give it to others—he has too many occasions to benefit from its use himself. So we find by experience that the average number of rides taken per transferable pass per week for cities of given size does not vary materially from the averages for

non-transferable "seasons" given to the writer in Europe, namely, 21 to 23 a week in the very largest cities and 28 to 32 in towns which are small enough to permit riding home for lunch.

"Weekly" is the next word that calls for explanation. Abroad, no pass is sold for less than a month. The usual minimum is three months. This places the season ticket beyond the reach of many clerks and workingmen. Another reason why the poorer classes do not buy such tickets is that most European roads are saddled with the so-called workmen's fares. These fares call for a lower rather than a higher rate during the rush hours. They are of no real benefit to the worker because every employer figures fares in his wage scales.

By placing the pass on a weekly basis, we adopted the shortest possible calendar period and thus did not have to ask for an outlay beyond the worker's means. The week is generally the period from Monday morning to Sunday midnight because Monday is the day that has the greatest number of industrial riders. In one case, the pass runs from Sunday morning to Saturday night as the railway serves a suburban community in which Sunday is the most important traffic day, barring Saturday with its large number of shopping casuals.

"Pass" may be amplified by pointing out that as applied to American street car practice it means the elimination of all change-making and of the distasteful transfer.

HOW THE PASS INCREASES CAR RIDING

In placing the weekly pass before the public, the writer has stressed this fact: generally speaking, we cannot decrease the rate of fare if people will ride only when they have to, namely, to and from work in the rush hours. There is only one way to get a lower

fare and that way is to take more rides without a corresponding increase in operating expenses. This means that people must take more voluntary rides, such as the trip made for pleasure or the trip that could be made on foot. Hence, the basic idea of the pass is to offer unlimited use of the service to those who are willing to pay a little bit more than the cost of their compulsory rides.

To illustrate, Fort Wayne's fare to the person who rides infrequently is 7 cents; to the person who rides at least often enough to stock up with four tickets, the fare is $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents (4 tickets for 25 cents); and to the person who gives the company the equivalent of 16 ticket fares (\$1.00) a week in advance the fare is as little as he cares to make it. In practice, the pass rider averages a fare between 4 and 5 cents and is saved all the bother of the less steady patron who has to provide himself with change, tickets or transfers. The pass rider merely flashes his weekly card so that the color and surprint number are visible to the conductor—and passes on. There is no searching of pockets or unbuttoning of overcoats for him.

Now it goes without saying that once a person buys a pass he is eager to use it at every opportunity. Instead of avoiding the car, he waits for it. Even though he may not have occasion to ride in the middle of the day or in the evening, the transferability of the pass to wife, child or neighbor, makes possible such averages as four to five rides per pass per diem. Since only two rides are physically possible during the rush hours, it is obvious that the extra rides, no matter by whom taken, must occur during the off-peak hours when there is ample room. This is what makes the pass plan practicable financially. It does not necessarily produce an increase in reve-

nue, but it does make possible a very large increase in the usefulness of the railway through offering for next to nothing a lot of service that would otherwise go to waste.

SPEEDING UP COMMUNITY ACTIVITY AND INCREASING GOOD WILL

What new purposes does a passholder fulfil when he turns from a two-times-a-day into a four-times-a-day rider?

He (in smaller cities) goes home for lunch, thus enjoying more time with his family.

He goes oftener to churches, lectures, lodge meetings, theaters, parks—community gatherings of any and every sort—because he does not have to consider the cost of carfare. Naturally, if he goes oftener, then his wife, sweetheart, child or other companion goes oftener also.

The younger man may use the pass for gymnasium and night school.

The woman passholder uses the pass for more face-to-face shopping instead of purchasing by telephone. Face-to-face shopping is far more satisfying to the local merchant. He gets a better idea of the customer's tastes, he can sell her more goods, he can induce her to carry some of the purchases home and he knows that she will return less than if she had ordered the material before seeing it.

In general, the passholder comes to look upon the street railway precisely as upon an elevator, namely, that it is there to be used without regard to cost. He had seen nothing strange about riding *down* a couple of floors, while refusing to pay fare for a half-mile ride *uphill*. When the extra use of the street car costs nothing or almost nothing, he uses it as freely as an elevator. Why not ride even a block if the rain is falling or there is a package to carry? What's the use of letting

a car go by anyway? So the passholder rides and rides, for when he bought the pass he made a good-natured bet with the railway that he was going to get his money's worth and then some. Best of all for the street railway is that each passholder is a booster and business solicitor who brings many a fare through his companions.

RATE OF FARE TAKEN OUT OF POLITICS

From the foregoing somewhat sketchy outline, it will be clear that the weekly pass is of great civic value in two ways: First, it makes for larger attendance at any kind of gathering for shopping, for instruction, for entertainment and social life generally; second, it takes the question of rates of fare out of politics almost entirely. The latter statement is not a fervent wish, but a cold fact. The reason is simply this: The pass gives such a big reduction in fare to the truly consistent customer and makes his purchase of the ride so agreeable that the real railway patrons and their families no longer have any cause for complaint. The rest of the community, comprising occasional riders, has no just ground for complaint in paying for retail riding more than the others pay for wholesale riding. For the first time, then, the car ride is being sold on the business basis of a wholesale rate for wholesale use.

It must be borne in mind that the purchase of reduced rate tickets by anyone does not imply that he is a regular rider. He may be an auto user whose car is laid up. Why favor him? One is not proved to be an everyday customer merely through the purchase of say six tickets that can be used any time and divided among six people if desired. On the other hand, when a patron buys a weekly pass at a given price, he has paid a

definite sum for the fixed period of seven days. As the pass can be used only by one person at one time, we are indifferent as to whether he or someone else chooses to ride during the week of validity.

So where the weekly pass is properly introduced, it differentiates each class of rider so clearly that it is no longer possible for scheming realtors or disgruntled merchants to start agitation in the names of supposedly regular patrons. This protection is worth a lot to any railway.

It may be observed, also, that the weekly pass has the merit of awakening the auto user to the fact that the street car still has quite a few merits over the personal car so far as city riding goes. Many people have simply drifted into the habit of using a personal car, although the traffic and parking conditions of to-day often mean that the auto driver actually saves no time and suffers more exasperation than pleasure. These people, however, would not care to go back to the street car so long as it is associated with the change, ticket and transfer bother from which the personal car had freed them. It is only through the pass that they are given the same set of gratifications, viz., no feeling of expense every time a ride is taken, no standing in line, no fussing with small change or tokens, no handling of the irritating transfer. On top of all that, the convert is now able to read his paper as in the days of yore, he lets the motorman do the worrying about traffic regulations and he no longer allows his car to stand in sun or rain all day long on the public highway subject to the whims and wiles of everybody else. The same vanity that makes a person desirous of showing off with a personal car is exploited in selling him a pass which he can flash proudly while *hoi polloi* stand at the farebox!

A VARIETY OF PASSES DESIRABLE— SHORT-HAUL FARES, OFF-PEAK RATES, ETC.

It must not be supposed for a moment that the unlimited-ride weekly pass is the only thing an electric railway can do to increase its usefulness to the community without impairment of revenue. The pass takes care of people who have a legitimate reason for compulsory riding twice a day in the same community in which they live. However, it does not take care of most housewives who could advantageously increase their average from say six to twelve rides a week. For this class, the writer recommends a lower rate pass, good not only during non-rush hours of workdays but all hours of holidays. In several installations, also, use is made of a school pass which enables non-earning children of school age to secure unlimited riding privileges.

There are also occasions where the pass can be supplemented by special ticket rates, either for off-peak hours on all days or on specific days like the "dollar sales" campaign of local merchant groups. Finally, for the large city with a business and amusement center more than a mile long and with a variety of sub-centers, there is the graduated or zone fare. From this we see that while the usual all-hour weekly pass serves up to 50-55 per cent of the traffic, it can be supplemented to advantage by a variety of other schemes to secure "more revenue from more riders."

PASS NOW USED IN COMMUNITIES OF EVERY SIZE

In conclusion, the writer gives a list of all the twenty-seven pass installations effective at the time of writing this article, although, at the time of printing, this list may be augmented by a dozen or more on which he has

made reports. In giving the list, it may be mentioned that the price of the standard city pass for adults varies from 85 cents to \$1.25, while zone or cross-country passes go up to \$2.25. There is no more reason why all passes should be the same price as why all single-trip fares should be uniform. The dollar rate is the most popular at the moment. A list of installations follows:

<i>City</i>	<i>Population Served</i>
Ashtabula, Ohio.....	22,000
Astoria, Ore.....	14,000
Beaver Valley Traction Co. (zones, New Brighton, Pa., etc.).....
Chicago Elevated Railroads.....	2,700,000
Everett, Wash.....	30,000
Franklin, Pa.....	10,000
Fort Smith, Ark.....	34,000
Fort Wayne, Ind.....	100,000
Gainesville, Ga.....	10,000
Houghton-Hancock, Mich., and other towns (zones).....
Kenosha, Wis.....	44,000

Morris County Traction Co., New Jersey (zones).....
Paducah, Ky.....	30,000
Pine Bluff, Ark.....	30,000
Piqua, Ohio.....	17,000
Pomona, Cal.....	13,000
Racine, Wis.....	60,000
Riverside, Cal.....	19,000
St. John, New Brunswick.....	60,000
Santa Barbara, Cal.....	18,000
Selma, Ala.....	16,000
Tacoma, Wash.....	100,000
Terre Haute, Ind.....	75,000
Valdosta, Ga.....	11,000
Vincennes, Ind.....	17,000
Washington-Virginia Ry. (zones).....
Youngstown, Ohio.....	175,000

From this list it will be seen that size of the city is not a factor in the use of the weekly pass. Nevertheless, there are conditions for which other forms of ride-selling rates are desirable, either in place of or supplementary to this character of charge. If this were not so, then Othello's occupation would be gone!

MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION IN STATE LEGISLATURES

BY J. M. MATHEWS

University of Illinois

The locality principle of representation, with its attendant rotten boroughs, is giving way to the population basis. But this means that large cities are heavily represented and the country districts are afraid.

In the American states there are two main principles upon which representation is based: the first is the people *en masse*, and the second is the people by governmental subdivisions. Various combinations of these two main methods of representation are also found. The first principle of representation is adopted in the election of the state

executive officers, such as governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state *et cetera*. This principle is also applied in the election of the presidential electoral college, United States senators, and members of the lower house of congress in states having but one member and occasionally in other states where the legislature has failed

to provide as many congressional districts as the number of members to which the state is entitled. It is also applied in the operation of the state-wide referendum on constitutions, constitutional amendments and ordinary legislation. In all of these cases a vote cast anywhere in the state counts just as much as a vote cast anywhere else in the state. There is no over- or under-representation of one part or section of the state as compared with another. If the members of the state legislature were elected in a state-wide election on a general ticket, there would arise no difficulties connected with the division of the state into representative districts and there would be no possibility of a gerrymander. A combination of the general ticket plan with district representation might be worked out that would probably give greater satisfaction than the present plan, especially if the bicameral system were abolished and a one-house legislature introduced. The complete adoption of the general ticket plan of electing the legislature, however, is hardly practicable because it would make the ballot too long and would leave no room for minority representation. In all the states, therefore, we find that the legislatures are elected on the plan of district representation. These districts are either especially created for this purpose or are already used for local governmental purposes, or, more generally, a combination of these two kinds of districts is found.

ROTTEN BOROUGHS IN THE UNITED STATES

The earliest system of representation as established in England adopted the local community as the basis or unit to which representation was accorded without regard to population. It was natural that the same plan should have been adopted in the American

colonies. Even until well into the nineteenth century, cities were comparatively small, and consequently, although population was not taken into consideration primarily in fixing representation, as a matter of fact there was no very great or serious divergence from the population basis of representation.

With the shifting of population in the nineteenth century, however, and the growth of manufacturing and industrial cities, many of the rural communities in the south of England came to be what were called "rotten boroughs." The same development also took place in the United States, until by the beginning of the twentieth century, the departure from the principle of popular representation had become very great and serious in some of the states. This was especially true in the case of some of the older states on the Atlantic seaboard, mainly in New England, where the town system of local government influenced the plan of representation. In the New England states, with the exception of Massachusetts, the constitutions generally provide that each town shall have at least one representative in the lower house. This general requirement is supplemented in Connecticut by the provision that no town shall have more than two representatives and in Rhode Island by the provision that no town or city shall have more than one-fourth of the total membership of the lower house. This narrowly restricts the representation of such cities as Providence and Hartford. In Rhode Island, the under-representation of the cities is further accentuated by the provision that each town or city shall have only one senator. In other states outside of New England equal representation of counties in the senate is found. Thus, in New Jersey, Maryland and South Carolina each county is entitled

to one and only one senator. This provision produces great under-representation in New Jersey in the case of two populous counties, containing large cities. Baltimore is not affected by this provision, since it is not situated in a county, but a special provision limits it to four senators out of a total of twenty-seven, although it has about half the total population of the state. It is also limited to less than one-fourth of the representatives in the lower house. Wilmington, Delaware, is in much the same situation as Baltimore with reference to its representation in both houses. Philadelphia is also limited, though not so seriously as Baltimore, by the provision that no city or county in the state shall have more than one-sixth of the total number of senators. The constitution of New York limits the number of senators which any one county may have to one-third, and the number which any two adjoining counties may have to one-half. New York City, however, is not yet seriously affected by this provision, since it includes five counties and might, therefore, elect more than half the senators.

THE COUNTY EMPHASIZED

In about one-third of the states, the constitutions provide that each county shall have at least one representative in the lower house. This provision practically operates to restrict the representation of the more populous counties and to give undue representation to the sparsely populated counties because of the general policy of definitely fixing in the constitution the exact number of members in each house. In the states having county representation there are usually a number of counties having less than the representative ratio, that is, the quotient arising from dividing the population of the state by the number of members.

There are some of these states in which some counties have even less than half the ratio. The resulting over-representation of such counties can be allowed, of course, only by depriving the more populous counties of some of the representation to which, on the basis of population, they would be entitled.

Even in states which do not have county representation, the counties are not entirely ignored, but it is usually provided that representative districts shall follow county lines and that, in forming such districts, no county shall be divided except when it includes more than one district. Where county lines are thus taken into consideration, it is impracticable to form the districts so that they shall contain exactly equal population. Even if this were done so that, at any given time, each district contained exactly the same number of inhabitants, this condition would quickly change with the shifting of population, so that inequalities would arise. In order to provide for this contingency, the constitutions usually provide that periodic reapportionments shall be made. The usual interval between reapportionments is ten years, and, in most states the figures of the Federal census are adopted as a basis. Where, as happens in some states, no requirement of periodic reapportionment is found, the inequalities are naturally greater. Even in some states where such a requirement is found, the constitutional provision has sometimes been ignored by the legislature, as in Illinois, resulting in a progressively increasing inequality between the different districts.

THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

Some states have adopted as a basis of representation not the total population but a restricted portion of the population, or the number of inhabit-

ants remaining after deducting certain classes. Thus, Oregon adopts the white population as a basis; New York and North Carolina exclude aliens in determining the basis; Massachusetts and Tennessee base representation on the number of qualified or legal voters. The last-named provision would operate in most states to exclude aliens. Logically the voting population would seem to be a better basis than the total population. The theory involved in the second section of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States is apparently that representation should be based on voting population. Such a provision would operate against the large cities as compared with the total-population basis, since, in determining representation, the floating and alien population found in considerable numbers in most large cities would be eliminated. Such an elimination would naturally increase proportionately the representation of the rural districts, but, now that women have been granted full suffrage, the voting population would seem to be a fairer basis of representation than the total population. If a person is not considered fit to vote for representatives, there would seem to be no good reason why he should be counted in determining the basis of representation.

From this brief review of the provisions regarding representation found in the different states, we may pass to a consideration of the arguments for and against the different methods adopted. The historic New England system of equal representation of towns, without regard to population, however justifiable originally, is quite indefensible from the standpoint of its present operation. It is entirely out of harmony with the modern trend of democratic thought. On the other hand, the democratic theory should not be pushed to the extreme of holding that

the lines of local governmental areas should be entirely disregarded and the state divided into equally represented districts containing absolutely equal blocks of population. The objections to such a plan are obvious. It would open a wide opportunity for gerrymandering the state on a larger scale and in a more obnoxious manner than when county lines are regarded. Even under present conditions, a comparison of party votes with party representation in most states shows that the percentage of the representatives in both houses controlled by the majority party is usually much greater than the percentage of its popular vote for governor, while the percentage of representatives controlled by the minority party is usually much less than the percentage of its popular vote. The constitutional requirement that the legislature shall consider county lines in making the apportionment tends to check somewhat the evils of the gerrymander. Mere representative districts formed without regard to county lines, moreover, would be quite artificial, while the counties have to some extent a social and political unity.

It does not follow from the above considerations, however, that each county should have a representative in the legislature, especially in states where there are wide variations in the density of population in different sections of the state. Such representation could not, as a rule, be granted, even in the lower house, consistently with equal representation for all parts of the state, without making that house entirely too large for efficient work. It might be argued that counties should have representation in the state legislature on the analogy of the system of representation in county boards of supervisors and in congress. In the county boards, it is true, each township usually has one representative, without

regard to population, and, although populous townships may be allowed more than one, urban districts are usually under-represented. But the county has aptly been called the "dark continent" of American politics, and it is hardly likely, therefore, that we can derive much light on this question from that source.

It might be argued that each county in the state should have at least one representative in the lower house and support for this position sought from the fact that the constitution of the United States provides that each state shall have at least one representative in the lower house of congress. The analogy, however, is defective. The states, of course, are not federal governments, nor do the counties occupy the same position in the states that the states do in the union. Moreover, the operation of the provision would be different in the two cases. Such a provision in most states would give to a considerable number of counties over-representation, while in the case of the lower house of congress, Nevada and a few other states fall below the ratio of representation, but the amount of over-representation in this case is comparatively small. This result is due to the fact that the size of the house of representatives at Washington is greater than that of the lower house in any state and much greater than in most states. Moreover, there is no constitutional limitation upon its size such as is found in most states with regard to both houses of the legislature.

POPULATION AS A BASIS

When the Federal constitution was drawn up state pride was strong and the confidence of the public men of that time in the political capacity of the people was comparatively low. Much was said about the danger of popular assemblies being swayed by excitement

and passion. The framers, therefore, provided for representation on the basis of population in only one house, and not fully on that basis even in that house. Since the constitution was adopted there has been a decrease in the feeling of state pride and a simultaneous growth in the general confidence in the political capacity of the people. Hence, it seems probable that, if the Convention of 1787 were meeting now in our present advanced state of thought upon these matters, it would accord a larger recognition to the principle of population as the basis of representation. On the other hand, it is no doubt true that, if the members of such a convention as that of 1787, whether meeting at that time or now, had reason to believe that any one state would ever have sufficient population to control the house of representatives, they would have introduced restrictions so as to prevent it.

THE CITY'S SIDE

In favor of representation in both houses in the state legislature on substantially a population basis, it may be argued that the legislature should not have the power of levying taxes and passing other laws which the people must obey unless the people have been accorded equal representation in the body which makes the laws. If large cities are not accorded the representation in the legislature to which their population as compared with that of the rural districts would entitle them, many residents of the cities may hold in disrespect a law in the making of which they consider themselves not to have been properly represented. Equal representation upon a population basis may therefore be conducive to a more effective enforcement of the law, since it tends to bring the provisions of the law more in accordance with public opinion, upon which its

enforcement ultimately depends. If the code of morals of the cities and the rural districts differ so that no general law will meet the approval of state-wide public opinion, there is no good reason why either side should attempt to cram its code down the throat of the other by general law, but local autonomy in such matters should be allowed.

Again, it may be argued that there is no difference in principle between allowing every voter equal weight in choosing state executive officers and allowing him equal weight in choosing representatives in the state legislature. Through his veto power and his positive influence in legislation, the governor is as important a factor in the work of the legislature as a considerable group of that body. Yet it is not suggested that the cities should have less proportional weight than the rural districts in choosing the governor.

THE COUNTRY'S SIDE

On the other hand, one may sympathize with the feeling of the rural districts that they do not want to be dominated by the city political machine. But there is also a machine in the rural districts which one hears less about because it meets with less opposition. Most new movements and so-called radical ideas which point the way of progress and endanger the hold of the majority political party emanate from the cities, while the rural districts are inclined to be more conservative. If the rural districts are much over-represented, the need for carrying the elections in those districts becomes greater if the political party is to control the legislature. The efforts of the party organization may therefore be concentrated upon the rural districts with the consequent greater danger of corruption. On the other hand, it is probably true that in the rural com-

munities where everybody knows everybody else, the voters can usually form a more intelligent estimate of the qualifications of the candidates and the machine may therefore be practically compelled to put up better candidates for the legislature in the rural districts than in the cities.

This is not a question upon which either side can afford to insist to the last ditch upon its extreme claims and refuse to compromise. The definite trend of modern democratic thought requires that the population basis of representation should be conformed to as nearly as practicable consistently with adequate recognition of the locality principle of representation. No county should have separate representation if its population is less than half the representative ratio, but should be combined with others to form a representative district. On the other hand, no one county should be allowed to dominate the legislature of the state in both branches.

A compromise of these opposing interests which readily suggests itself is that the population basis of representation should be adopted in one house and the community principle in the other, so that the urban districts shall control one and the rural districts the other. This solution seems attractive on its face, but objections may be urged to it. Such a device may lead to undue friction between the two houses and possible deadlock upon the legislative matters that vitally affect the interests of either section of the state. Moreover, it may lead to a division of party responsibility for the work of legislation, where one party has a majority in the city and the other in the rural districts.

HOME RULE A WAY OUT

If this form of compromise be rejected as inadvisable and if it be

accepted as inevitable that complete adoption of the population principle of representation is impossible where it would lead to domination of the state by one city or county, there remain two principal avenues of escape whereby the city may emancipate itself from rural control. These are the initiative and referendum and constitutional home rule. The former avenue, if adopted, would enable the people of the cities to have proportionate weight according to population in direct legislation, without regard to the degree of their under-representation in the regu-

lar legislative body. This is probably one reason why the introduction of the initiative and referendum is opposed by the rural districts. Without regard to the contest between city and country, however, the initiative and referendum may be objected to on general grounds. The more promising avenue of escape for the cities, therefore, seems to be constitutional home rule of a broad and liberal nature. If the city is not allowed to govern itself through the legislature, then it must be allowed to govern itself directly.

THE FAILURE OF ENGLAND'S NATIONAL HOUSING SCHEME

BY W. McG. EAGER

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England's scheme for national housing failed, economically and politically. But would any policy have succeeded? And the new Government has revived the scheme, minus, we hope, the defects of the old. ::

THE best friends of the housing policy adopted in England in 1919 admit its failure. Its enemies declaim "I told you so" at various pitches of intensity and with various degrees of credibility, for, sad to say, many who formerly posed as its friends are now its enemies. Dr. Addison, who staked his political reputation on the scheme, is politically dead. Sir Alfred Mond, who stifled it, is politically alive.

We intended to build 500,000 houses before July 31, 1922, and thereafter to abolish all our slums. We have by the end of 1922 built 190,000 houses, and, as we have no margin of empty houses available for rehousing, we have not even scratched the slum problem. Long continued overcrowding, in fact, and the consequent acceleration of

dilapidation has been creating new slums areas, and tenements which had been closed as unfit for habitation according to the standard of public health prevailing before the war have been reopened. Yet the houses which have been built make a brave show where they are to be found, and the criticism which in our post-war mood of millennial expectancy termed them "rabbit hutches" and "homes in which men must be heroes to dwell," has given place to a gentle murmur of contentment from those who have been lucky enough to become tenants, and who find that to live in a house with accommodation adequate for decency, designed with simplicity, and planned for competent housewifery, makes possible on working class wages a

standard of family life which many members of the working classes have regarded as out of their reach. In short, the national housing scheme has achieved some qualitative success, though it has failed quantitatively.

WAS GOVERNMENTAL INTERVENTION DOOMED TO FAILURE?

In this country we have an impression that our friends in America have watched our progress with moral sympathy tempered by economic doubts. The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Lawrence Veiller in his invaluable study, *How England Is Meeting the Housing Shortage*, have been proved fundamentally correct, and he more than any other is entitled to the post of precentor in the "I-told-you-so" choir. None the less, it is perfectly possible that we in England were right in our intention to solve the housing problem and even in attempting the particular solution which we did attempt. The failure of the national housing scheme may prove that government intervention in house building is a radical error, or it may prove only that a particular government has failed to make a particular method of intervention effective. It may even prove nothing more than that the period during which the method of intervention was tried was so complexly abnormal that no method of supplying houses could have succeeded.

To determine which is the true explanation is difficult for us who are still sore with disappointment and blinded by the dust raised by politicians' claim to credit. It may be easier to see the meaning of what has happened from across the Atlantic. It is in any case vitally important for any country which is faced with a housing problem of magnitude to study England's effort and to examine the story without bias towards either

a Utopia of communism or a paradise of private enterprise. Fundamentally the issues are (a) whether housing, even as street lighting, street paving, drainage and refuse disposal, ought to be regarded now as in any sense or degree a community function, and (b) whether the community is by reason of the nature of house building operations competent to build houses. It is so easy to regard the failure of the national housing scheme as an illustration of the disasters which attend ignorance of economic laws, that it may be as well to summarise the considerations which persuaded the English government to embark upon the scheme.

THE APPALLING SHORTAGE FOLLOWING THE WAR

At the end of the war there was in this country a shortage of houses variously estimated at from half a million to a million. The official enquiry showed a need for 800,000. This shortage was due to the aggravation by the war of a condition existing before the war, to remedy which the bodies governing localities had since 1890 possessed power to build dwelling houses both for rehousing persons displaced by the clearance of unhealthy areas and for housing others whose need for housing accommodation was not being met by the normal interaction of building trade supply and family demand. The public authorities concerned were the town or district councils. There was nothing to compel them to build houses to meet the unsatisfied normal need except the pressure of local public opinion, and in spite of the known shortage, houses built by public bodies of all kinds were up to the war only 1 per cent of houses built.

Public bodies were prevented from building in any quantity by precisely

the same cause as prevented private builders building in sufficiency, namely, the fact that the building of small houses was not a paying proposition. This had long been the case in country districts; it was increasingly the case in the towns. For at least a century agricultural labourers' wages had been insufficient to pay economic rents even for the smallest of houses, and they were inhabiting either worn-out houses let at a charity rent, or houses tied to farms or estates and let at nominal rents. In the towns charity rents or nominal rents were infrequent, but the customary proportion of income paid in rent was low, there had been a fall in real wages between 1900 and 1910 and between 1910 and 1914 only a very slight rise. At the same time as a result partly of more widely diffused education, and partly of a visible rise in the standard of public amenities, there was a growing intolerance among the sufferers from overcrowding and among the general public, of conditions of domestic squalor. In short, while the economic demand was stationary or could be increased only by a growing willingness to spend a larger proportion of income in rent, the conscious need for an adequate supply of houses was growing.

In 1911 there was in the whole country a 5 per cent or 6 per cent margin of empty houses. These were to a large extent absorbed before the war owing to the supply of new houses falling below the fresh demand created by growth of population. The first effect of the increased wages of war-time was to send up the economic demand with a rush, and by 1915 the empties were fully absorbed, without appreciably diminishing the shortage previously existing.

Between 1915 and 1919 the building of houses stopped dead, and at the end of the war the government was

faced by a deficit which, quite clearly, could not be made good by private enterprise.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

This analysis aims at making clear the origin of the 1919 policy. That policy defied the principles of economic science. That is conceded without dispute. But the position with which it was necessary to deal was one which could not be dealt with by the enunciation of economic platitudes. Even before the war there was a growing opinion that merely to permit local authorities to build houses if they were minded to do so was not enough, and that it was becoming necessary to require them to do so. If the war had never occurred the advocates of a national housing policy might have had their way. The war did occur and vitally affected both the economics of building and the minds of men.

The war, as has recently been said by Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree, in this country telescoped the economic and psychological progress of a quarter of a century into five years. Men against whom the obligations of the social contract had been enforced in the most drastic way conceivable—by conscription—were alert to seize their corresponding rights: if the state had a right to their lives they had a right to homes. They found, too, on their return a social atmosphere favourable to this conception of their rights. Among those who had stayed at home there was much gratitude to those who had fought and a new and lively sense of the importance of breeding a healthy race for future emergencies both military and commercial. With this gratitude and foresight was mingled no small part of fear. Mr. Bonar Law, when he said in May, 1920, "that unless we made every effort to improve the condition of the people we would

have a sullen, discontented and perhaps angry nation, which would be fatal in the last degree to trade, industry and credit," and Mr. Walter Long, when he declared that "to let them come back from the horrible water-logged trenches to something little better than a pigsty here would be little less than criminal" were only making explicit what had been said in the oft-quoted King's Speech that "an adequate solution of the housing question is the foundation of all social progress."

There was no serious disagreement among statesmen or the general public. The cabinet had a clear issue to face, whether wages should be raised so as to make possible economic rents for houses built at post-war prices, or whether the building of houses should be subsidised so as to bring the rents of new houses down to the level of houses built before the war. The absurdity of raising wages all round, in order to enable that small proportion of the total population which was not in possession of houses built before the war to pay economic rents for houses built at temporarily inflated prices was obvious. On the other hand, the idea of subsidising the production of any commodity necessary for national existence had obtained a firm hold on political imagination. The mobilisation of munition-making seemed a substantial precedent for national control of the house-building industry; an expenditure of ten million pounds a year on a measure of social security seemed a bagatelle to a nation which had been spending seven million pounds day in winning a war. There was in fact a mass of considerations all tending to make the second of the two alternatives inevitable.

The second course was taken and its wisdom must be judged by its consistency not merely with the eternal

principles of economics but with the psychological state prevailing at the time when the decision was made.

ENGLAND CHANGES HER MIND

Yet the prognostications of the apostles of economic rectitude have been verified. England conceived her housing policy in one mood and abandoned it in another. The failure of the Homes for Heroes policy is in reality due to a collective change of mind. If the post-war mood had endured the programme of house building and slum clearance would have been carried through whatever the cost. It is part of the complexity of the story that the excessive rise in the cost of building, which was foreseen by many economists, did much to hasten the change of mood, but it was not its true cause.

Take first the details of this change. Gratitude, as we all know, is a poor foundation for certainty of favours to come. The soldier came home, got out of uniform, and in the full and certain hope of being soon provided with the home of his dreams, put up temporarily with a pigsty or a room in his mother-in-law's house. In civilian clothes he soon lost his halo of heroism. Unemployment and the reaction from army life led to physical and social deterioration. Any funds he had saved to furnish the home when it should be built were expended on present expenses or fleeting amusements. By constant strikes and "ca' canny" he alienated the sympathy of those who were more affected by rises in the cost of living than by memories of what they had heard of life in the trenches. He ceased to be formidable as a potential revolutionary when he failed to be effective as a striker. The public were irritated, fear passed and gratitude followed fear. The chill

of trade depression paralysed long-sighted views of national economy. Quietly the conviction spread that the principles of economics were of more importance than social progress. The change of mood was complete. The Homes for Heroes policy was smoothed amid the plaudits of an audience which hailed the Chief Assassin as a heaven-sent Man of Business.

NEW GOVERNMENT REVIVES HOUSING POLICY

But in political matters the audience has always the fickleness of the mob. The Chief Assassin failed to hold the sympathy of the House. He claimed credit not only for the deflation of prices which followed the acceptance only of tenders offered by contractors who, to keep their plant occupied and labour together, were prepared to build at a loss, but also for the output of the houses which his predecessor had put in hand. He reiterated with irritating frequency that it was now possible for the private builder to return to his own place; but the private builder obstinately refused to return except to build for others than the working classes. The newspapers began again to give space to news of the hardships caused by homelessness. Medical officers of health declared that it was impossible for them to carry out their work so long as the shortage of houses was not met. County court judges, social workers and the clergy burst on to the stage to tell of the social and moral evils caused by overcrowding. The country began to feel that though the Homes for Heroes policy had been burdened by a sentimental name and had rested on a ridiculous financial basis, houses had none the less somehow to be supplied. Unfortunately for his own reputation, and for that of the Coalition government, Sir Alfred Mond produced no

policy, but that of negation and hope, and our new government, elected primarily to secure economy by a policy of peace and tranquillity, has within five weeks of taking office announced that the national housing policy must be revived.

The revival, it may be assumed, will be the resurrection of a body of different substance. It will give the fullest scope to private enterprise and regard local authorities not as the team, but merely as a trace-horse. The building of the houses made necessary by the clearance of slums will no doubt be their work. They will probably be given fuller powers—and possibly certain duties—to supplement the supply of houses where private enterprise is obviously failing to supply the need. They will certainly not be encouraged to call the tune and leave the national exchequer to pay the piper. There will also certainly be less checking of plans and scrutiny of detail by the central government through the ministry of health. At the same time if duties are to be laid on local authorities to supply proved deficiencies there must be some machinery at headquarters for collating the need of various districts, and if any general standard of size and amenity is to be insisted upon the only alternative to an increase of headquarter supervision will be the standardisation of plans and specifications. In all probability the English habit of compromise will prevail, and we shall get as much standardisation as our dislike of uniformity will allow, and as much central supervision as our fear of bureaucracy will permit. The outstanding certainty is that neither private enterprise nor action by public authorities will be regarded as competent under existing conditions of wages to produce a complete remedy for our present housing ills.

WHY THE POLICY WAS DISCREDITED

Readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will naturally desire to analyse the causes of the discredit in which both the ministry of health and the local authorities are involved by reason of their handling of a housing policy which has failed. It may fairly be said that to a large extent the administrative bodies were the victims of a legislature which was more concerned with immediate popularity than with ultimate efficiency. Parliament had passed an act and was careless of details. It expected houses to be produced at once in large numbers. The acquisition of sites, the preparation of plans, the making of contracts, the gathering together of labour, were all operations requiring time. Moreover, the action of the local authorities had to be checked at every stage by the central government, which was meeting the lion share of the cost. Ostensibly, the country was divided into regions with a housing commissioner in charge of each. But the powers of the commissioners were strictly limited; decentralisation was not effectively secured; the possibility of delay at every stage was turned into a certainty.

PRICES SKY-ROCKET

To a Parliament impatient for results the responsible minister had to be evasive. Disastrously he hit on the expedient of driving local authorities to get contracts for houses signed at practically any cost and regardless of the probable date of completion. The contracts had in most cases an "up and down clause," allowing for the payment to the contractor of any additional cost which might be thrown on the scheme by rises in the cost of labour and material. Rings and combines forced up the price of materials; skilled tradesmen, reduced in number

by the war and the pre-war slackness in the building trade, not unnaturally took advantage of their scarcity to demand and get higher wages. The local authorities, protected by the limitation of the cost to themselves to the sum produced by a penny rate in their own districts, were as unconcerned by these rises as were the contractors. No steps were taken to break the combines; steps to increase the supply of labour by diluting the building trade with trained ex-service men were taken only when the cutting down of the housing programme had been announced and when in consequence the maximum resistance was ensured from the trade unions. To supplement the output promised by contracts made with the smaller firms who had always specialised in the building of small houses, large firms of contractors accustomed to public works were induced to adapt their machinery to the building of small houses—it need hardly be said at a price. By means such as these the minister of health was able to announce that contracts had been signed for 112,000 houses at a time when the cost of a house had risen from £450 to £975, and when only 47,000 houses had been begun, including 7,500 completed. Houses which before the war might have cost £250 were in 1921 costing over £1,000; in some cases even £1,200.

The officials of the ministry of health did their best to keep prices down by the only means within their reach, namely, by simplifying plans, reducing sizes, and modifying specifications. The local authorities in general resisted these modifications. They wanted to show the local electors the best possible houses which money, which in this case meant money drawn from the national exchequer and not from the local rates, could buy. The

wrangling between local authorities and the ministry of health led to further delays, and it not infrequently happened that while £20 worth of modifications were in dispute £50 was added to the cost of the houses by the relentless rise in cost made possible by the "up and down clause" in the contracts.

Some local authorities were deliberately obstructive, either because their conservatism made them reluctant to carry out a policy which they regarded as socialistic, or because they were dominated by raw Socialists who had no wish to remove the grievances which it was convenient to exploit. Some authorities were inefficient; they lacked counsellors of business training or officials of technical capacity. Even if their officials had all the requisite capacity they were grossly understaffed for the extra work which the housing scheme threw upon them. All local authorities were hampered in executive action by the criticism which so certainly besets elected bodies, and were delayed by the cumbrous apparatus of local administration, committees, sub-committees, council meetings, deputations and conferences. Of corruption there has been practically no trace; considering the opportunities offered there has been a remarkable lack of scandals so far as administrative bodies are concerned, and the scandals which have occurred are traceable to the Nemesis which pursues men of good intention, but limited in ability, or overworked.

"DIRECT LABOUR"

The results of the experiments made both in organisation and in new methods of construction can be summed up very shortly. As regards organisation, those local authorities who in pursuance of their general political theories built by direct labour have

received considerable discouragement. The experience in particular of Newbury in Berkshire, where the direct labour scheme was controlled by a surveyor of particular energy and ability, proved that the saving of cost anticipated from the elimination of the contractor was much more than counterbalanced by the increased expensiveness of materials and the decreased productivity of labour. The Building Guild carried out schemes for certain authorities satisfactorily both as to cost and quality of work as compared with builders working on an ordinary commercial basis. No new method of construction has been found which in our climate and with our natural resources seems likely to oust bricks from their position as the cheapest and most efficient building material.

AN EXTRAVAGANT PLAN WITH NO IN- DUCEMENTS TO ECONOMY

To the unbiased observer it seems clear that two errors of first magnitude were made in 1919. The first was to conceive that 500,000 houses could be built in three years when there was available a supply of labour adequate even at pre-war productiveness to build scarcely more than 80,000 per year. The second was to remove from the administrative action of the local authorities practically every inducement to economy. My own interpretation of the facts is that the supply of houses for a large section of the population must in future be regarded as a community function; that in a period so abnormal as that in which the now defunct national housing policy was put in operation no method of supplying houses could have succeeded unless it was accompanied by a comprehensive regulation both of labour and of the supply of building materials; and that our English system of local government must, if it is to carry out

immense constructive schemes, be re-organised with a view to providing the local authorities with a larger and more competent technical staff. This re-organisation of local government will also, if houses are to be built so as to meet the real social and industrial needs of the country, effect a decentralisation of authority from Whitehall and the grouping of authorities into regions. Such a reorganisation has long been mooted, and it is perfectly possible that the necessity of making the machinery of local government efficient to deal with housing, town planning, and other constructive social policies will be the operating cause of bringing about the change.

The housing policy to be instituted by our new government will be judged all the more critically by reason of the comparisons which will be made between it and its predecessor. If private enterprise before the war was unable to cope with the housing problem as a whole, it is unlikely that it will find the problem any easier now. With 190,000 houses of the 1919 standard existing as an object lesson it will

be difficult or practically impossible for the speculative builder in the future to build houses without a bath, in monotonous terraces or at the rate of more than twelve to the acre of land. Some builders complain that one of the most potent causes operating to restrict the supply of houses before the war was the stringency of local by-laws. These by-laws have in some cases been brought up to date though they have not sensibly been relaxed, and behind them now will be the greater pressure of public opinion informed by the practical example of what has been effected by the national housing scheme. Private enterprise will be given another opportunity with substantial assistance, and if it is to make unnecessary a return of state enterprise it will have to satisfy public opinion within the next few years that it is capable of making good the immensely heavy arrears which have already accrued and of providing annually an increment of houses sufficient to meet the need of a population which is both increasing in number and demanding more room in which to live.

ITEMS ON MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. BASSETT

The Direct Oxidation Disposal Corporation Explains the Lima Situation.—We are in receipt of the following statement from the Direct Oxidation Disposal Corporation which we publish gladly.

On page 37 of the January, 1923, issue of the **NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW**, in the course of an article entitled "Sewage Disposal at Lima, Ohio" appears the following passage:

Although this eleventh-hour controversy to determine which of two different types of sewage plants shall be selected to serve the needs of Lima has caused considerable delay and additional expense to the community, the seriousness of the situation does not lie in these conditions but in the events which lead up to them. The methods of salesmanship employed, which induced the city commission of Lima to modify its action taken after receiving the report of its consulting engineers, and permit a concern selling a patented process to offer a competing proposition, savor too much of the practices followed in the past by bridge companies in the sale of highway bridges to communities for which the public paid a heavy toll. This magazine holds no brief for the consulting engineering profession nor does it oppose the use of patented devices or processes on public work. However, it is desired to point out the unwise-
dom of any community's disregarding the advice of suitably qualified individuals on matters of as a highly technical a nature as is presented by the problem of sewage disposal. If such a policy is to be pursued the question naturally arises, Why employ such professional experts in the first place? The experience of many communities in such matters has demonstrated that the most competent advice available is the most economical in the end.

This passage, particularly that part of it beginning with the words "the methods of salesmanship employed" casts a reflection upon the Direct Oxidation Disposal Corporation which is not deserved and which, in view of the peculiar conditions in the field in which the company is operating, is a serious one.

The facts are as follows: the company was well aware of the status of the Lima sewage disposal project at the beginning of 1922 but purposely made no effort to come in contact with it or interfere with the carrying out of Mr. Fuller's arrangements. Just before bids were to be received, however, Mr. C. A. Bingham, city manager of Lima, wrote to the city engineer of Allentown, Pa., asking for information about the direct oxidation plant in operation at that

place. On receiving Mr. Bascom's reply expressing great satisfaction with the Allentown plant, the city of Lima immediately sought information from the company, and H. Jerome Hirst, vice-president of the company went to Lima and gave the city officials the plain facts about the direct oxidation process. After Mr. Hirst's return to Philadelphia, he received a telegram from Mr. Bingham at Lima stating that he, the mayor and other officials would visit the plants at Allentown, Phillipsburg, N. J., and Plainfield, N. J., on a given date and asked Mr. Hirst to accompany them. The direct oxidation plants at Allentown and Phillipsburg and the Imhoff tank, trickling filter plant at Plainfield were visited in the order named, and before the Lima officials left Plainfield, they conferred among themselves and then announced to Mr. Hirst that the advertisement for bids then running would be cancelled and that alternate plans would be prepared embodying the direct oxidation process and that they would then readvertise in order that bids might be received on both plans. The reason for this was very clear. The direct oxidation plants at Allentown and Phillipsburg, both located in close proximity to build up city streets were successfully operating entirely without nuisance, while the element of nuisance was most conspicuous at Plainfield. Should a nuisance be created at the only available disposal site at Lima, the results would be disastrous.

The above facts show clearly that reflections upon the "salesmanship" employed by the Direct Oxidation Disposal Corporation are unmerited.

The remaining facts are as follows: a conference was arranged between the city officials, Mr. Fuller and Mr. Hirst. At this conference it was agreed that a test be made at the plant at Allentown to determine the question raised by Mr. Fuller as to whether direct oxidation effluent was stable when mixed with river water. The duration and character of the test were specifically agreed to by Mr. Fuller. The test was subsequently made and its results entirely favorable to the direct oxidation process. The city then retained Mr. Fuller to draw alternate plans for a

direct oxidation plant. When the plans were completed the city received and examined them, and then requested the Direct Oxidation Disposal Corporation to prepare plans, it being apparent that economical and efficient operation under the plans received would be doubtful. The city manager of Lima is a civil engineer.

The plans for a direct oxidation plant were finally adopted by the city of Lima, were duly filed with the Ohio state board of health with an application for approval some time last summer. As yet no action has been taken by the board of health.

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Financing of Extensions to Municipally Owned Water Supply and Power Systems.—Measures designed to enable ready financing of extensions to the city's water supply and power systems were submitted in a proposed amendment to the charter of Los Angeles, California, which was voted on at the 1922 election. The amendment was defeated by a small margin due largely it is stated to opposition from electric utility corporations. The essentials of the proposal and the conditions which brought about its presentation to the electorate, although obviously of local significance, are of interest to any rapidly growing community which is experiencing difficulty in securing prompt financing of such work.

The proposed amendment provided for, first, the establishment of a power revenue fund; second, granting to the board of public service commissioners the right to borrow money to meet the cost of extension work; third, restricting the purposes of expenditure of revenues obtained from the sale of water or power. The power revenue fund was designed to be the depository of all moneys received from the sale of electric power or other sources of revenue concerned with the operation and management of the city power plant. Control over the expenditure of these funds was to be vested largely in the board of public service commissioners. The most important provision of the proposed amendment is the one granting to that body the power to borrow money and issue bonds or other evidences of indebtedness therefor. The restrictions placed in the act on these powers are as follows:

1. The principal and interest of any indebtedness created under the provisions of this subdivision for water works purposes, shall be payable only out of the water revenue fund, and the

principal and interest of any indebtedness created under the provisions of this subdivision for electric works purposes shall be payable only out of the power revenue fund; excepting, however, that provision may be made for the payment of any such water or power indebtedness, or any part thereof, by the issuance and sale of general municipal bonds as provided for in subdivision (29) of section 2 of this charter.

2. The whole amount of any such indebtedness shall be payable in not to exceed ten years from the time of contracting the same.

3. The total outstanding indebtedness incurred under the provisions of this subdivision, for the purposes of either such municipal works, must not exceed 75 per cent of the gross operating revenue from such works during the next preceding fiscal year.

4. The rates for service from such municipal works shall be so fixed as to provide for payment at maturity of the principal and interest coming due on any outstanding indebtedness incurred against revenues from such works in pursuance of this subdivision, in addition to all other obligations and liabilities payable out of such revenues.

That there is need for some such flexible method of providing funds for the purposes noted as was included in the proposed amendment, is evident from a study of facts pertaining to the local situation, presented by Mr. E. F. Scattergood, chief electrical engineer, of Los Angeles. According to Mr. Scattergood, a bond issue, designed to provide for the city's acquiring the distribution system of the Southern California Edison Company located within the city, and the development of additional hydro-electric power; which was voted in June, 1919, and subsequently approved by the public by a substantial margin above the required two-thirds vote, was fought in the courts by private power interests until the middle of the year 1921. Unfavorable conditions in the bond market at that time caused a further delay in the sale of bonds until March, 1922. If the board of public service commission of Los Angeles had possessed the authority it now seeks, the claim is made that two additional power plants could have been built at a sufficiently advanced date to have earned at least \$2,000,000 net revenue, as compared with the cost to the city of purchasing the same power from private companies. A very real advantage in such an arrangement as was proposed lies in the ability to secure prompt

action in making needed extensions to the city's distribution systems. In a rapidly growing community this means not only greater convenience to consumers in the character and promptness of service furnished, but also generally results in more economical service.



Hoover Committee Recommends Minimum Standards for Small Building Construction.—Building code requirements designed to regulate the construction of one and two family dwellings, which will enable this class of work to be conducted at a substantially lower cost than is possible under existing code provisions while at the same time affording adequate protection from fire or other hazards, are embodied in a report issued recently by the building code committee of the United States department of commerce, entitled Recommended Minimum Requirements for Small Building Construction. The building code committee was appointed early in 1921 by Secretary Hoover of the department of commerce for the purpose of standardizing, so far as possible, the building laws of the country. Its membership is made up of recognized leaders in the various professional and other fields concerned with the construction of buildings and their regulation. In addition the committee enlisted the co-operation of a large number of individuals and representatives of scientific and other organizations in a position to aid in the prosecution of its work. Hence its recommendations may be considered as the expression of an authoritative opinion on the subject in question. Aside from its merit in this respect the report constitutes a unique and valuable contribution to the literature of building codes.

In addition to a concise statement of the requirements to be met in the construction of small buildings, which appears as Part II of the report, there is a preliminary statement which comprises a brief analysis of the problem and the purpose and scope of the work undertaken by the committee, and an appendix, Part III, containing a wealth of information of distinct educational value. The following quotation from the report is of particular interest as indicating the guiding policy of the committee in conducting its work:

This report deals only with construction of dwellings intended for the occupancy of not more than two families between exterior or party walls. No recommendations are made as to proportion of lots that buildings may cover, the distance between buildings

or between buildings and lot lines, or the effect upon construction imposed by such considerations. Lack of reference to these features is not due to their unimportance, but merely because the committee has considered them beyond the scope of the present report. An advisory committee on zoning has been organized in the division of building and housing to assist the department on zoning and city planning questions. All matters such as those mentioned above and those concerning necessities for light and air, also the general suitability of buildings as living quarters, will be considered jointly with that committee and recommendations made later.

It is recognized that the requirements recommended in Part II constitute, in some particulars, relaxations from those considered advisable for construction of large buildings. The committee believes, however, that for the simple types of buildings specified, and because of the need of eliminating all possible waste, the minimum standards advised are compatible with a due measure of utility and durability in the structures affected. The objects which the committee had in view in recommending these regulations were (1) to help eliminate waste in home building, (2) to secure safe and yet economical construction, and (3) to reconcile inharmonious and frequently too restrictive provisions in existing codes.

The recommendations are predicated on the assumption that good materials and workmanship will be used and all necessary care taken in assembling the various parts of the structures. The committee feels that thorough building inspection is often lacking and that many unnecessarily rigid code requirements have been adopted to offset possible laxity in enforcement. In modifying such provisions to reduce cost, therefore, local authorities should insist upon supervision of construction by an adequate, competent personnel.

The building code committee is convinced that the requirements of a building code should be as brief and simple as possible. It should contain merely the minimum requirements necessary and not be a set of specifications covering methods of building. The committee further believes that every such document should be accompanied by an appendix, which should not be a law or ordinance, but which should contain such general explanatory statements of the requirements in the code as would make them easily understandable and such other information of value as could be obtained elsewhere in concise form, if at all, for the education of the home builder.

According to dependable statistics, the shortage of homes in the United States during 1920 was 1,200,000. It is apparent, therefore, that if building regulations could be so modified and standardized as to effect even a small saving on each building without endangering its efficiency or permanency a large total economy would result.

Obviously the powers of the committee are limited to submitting its recommendations to the public. Moreover, it is not intended that these recommendations be regarded as fixed. Building laws can continue to be of the highest

usefulness only when they reflect progress in the art of building construction. Many of the injustices and discrepancies of existing building codes result from delay in their revision to meet changing conditions. It is planned that whenever changes in the building art or in the conditions to which buildings are exposed are reliably established, these national recommendations will be altered at intervals to take account of them. In this way it is hoped that best assistance may be rendered those responsible for revision and enforcement of local ordinances.

Although limited in its scope, this code in the method followed in its preparation together with its content, serves as a sound guide to the preparation of more comprehensive building codes.



Garbage Disposal in Seattle.—The practicability of disposing of the garbage and other wastes of a community of about three hundred thousand population by means of dumping and keeping the dump surface and slope covered with earth or sand has been demonstrated by the experience of Seattle, Washington. This experience also illustrates in a timely fashion the importance that local conditions exercise over any method of waste disposal.

Seattle has been getting rid of its municipal waste by the sanitary fill method of disposal for about seven years. Previous to that time the city operated three high temperature destructors, each with a capacity of sixty-five tons per twenty-four hours. One of these destructors was in use for five years before operation was discontinued and the other two were operated for two years each.

The substitution of dumping for disposal by incineration was not due to failure of the destructors to operate satisfactorily, but merely on account of the high cost of the latter method of disposal. Changed conditions particularly in the cost of labor practically doubled the cost of incinerating the city's waste, over what prevailed a few years previous to the adoption of the present plan. The latter provides for the delivery of waste to sixteen dumps distributed over the city. The sites of these dumps where possible have been selected so as to provide a fill ten to fourteen feet deep adjoining paved streets. All classes of material are brought to the dumps where there is a separation of inflammable and salvageable materials from the other wastes. The salvaging is done by private parties. In-

flammable wastes are burned periodically at the dumps. After a reasonable time has been allowed for dump picking, the garbage and other materials are covered with sand to a suitable depth.

The cost of this method of disposal is said to be approximately thirty cents per ton as against an estimated cost of one dollar per ton for incineration at the time the use of the garbage destructors was abandoned and an estimated cost of approximately two dollars for such method of disposal under present conditions.

Apparently the city dumps in Seattle are operated without nuisance and after several years of experience it is stated that the fills do not settle more than similar fills made entirely of earth, and the use of land thus brought to a level with surrounding property is approved by the city building department as providing suitable foundation for light structures.

The experience of Seattle should not be considered necessarily as justifying the discontinuance by other communities of waste disposal methods by means of incineration or otherwise in favor of the operation of sanitary fills. It is interesting, however, in that it illustrates the practicability of conducting a method of waste disposal by a large city which a few years ago was condemned as insanitary under any conditions and detrimental to public health. It also illustrates the fact that topographical conditions in Seattle made possible the favorable location of city dumps which in their operation actually enhanced the value of property on which they were located. Another community lacking the favorable conditions existing in Seattle might find it both impractical and uneconomic to attempt disposal by dumping.

One fact in the experience of Seattle which is valuable to almost any community is its demonstration of the principle that fundamentally garbage disposal is a matter of city cleansing rather than of public health and that the main requirement of any method of disposal is to get rid of the waste materials at the least cost consistent with protection against any kind of offense to the community either to sight or smell. However, the determination of the most suitable method of disposal for any community is not a matter that can be decided offhand by a group of laymen. The problem is essentially an engineering one and its satisfactory solution depends largely on careful study of local conditions supplemented by securing thoroughly competent professional advice and following it. The un-

satisfactory service in the matter of waste collection and disposal that exists in many communities and the large number of abandoned disposal plants of various kinds furnish ample testimony of the need for sound policies in the administration of this important community service.



Control of Traffic Movement on Important City Streets.—Synchronized movement of vehicular traffic by means of a system of signal lights operated from towers has been tried with success on certain important streets in some of the larger cities of this country. In fact the control over traffic on Fifth Avenue, New York, which has been effected by this means has proven so satisfactory that the original signal towers have been replaced by more permanent and ornamental ones and an extension of the system is planned for other thoroughfares in Manhattan. It is interesting to note, however, that the proposed system dispenses with the signal towers. The reasons for this modification of the present arrangement as outlined by Hon. Julius Miller, president of the borough of Manhattan, apply not only to the local situation but also to practically every community contemplating the installation of a traffic control system of this character. Mr. Miller points out that any obstruction within the highway is an impediment

to free movement of traffic and should be avoided where intensity of traffic is very great. Obviously, signal towers cannot be located on any street or avenue which has an elevated railroad structure or surface tracks.

In order to operate a system of this kind on avenues or streets where such conditions exist, signal lamps would have to be supported by some other structure. The logical place for the signals is on lamp-posts at street intersections preferably suspended from an arm extending diagonally into the street intersection. An arrangement of this kind would make such lights visible for a considerable distance from both intersecting streets. One such light at each intersection would flash the signal to all traffic on any avenue or street and on account of their proximity there would be less obstruction to their visibility in foggy weather or from any other cause.

The cost of installation of a system of this kind would also be materially less than that where signal towers are used. The cost of operating the system would also be materially reduced as two men at a single point could control lights operating over a very extensive area. This would release traffic officers located in towers for service in controlling pedestrian traffic at important intersections which is admittedly a necessary service.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Pinchot Appoints Women to Cabinet.—The newspapers all over the country have contained a great many stories concerning the first woman cabinet officer in Pennsylvania, Dr. Ellen C. Potter, recently appointed commissioner of public welfare by Governor Pinchot.

Dr. Potter's appointment was hailed by the women, by the social workers, by the physicians, and it is interesting to note that her appointment is significant to the civic group also, as she was for a period in the years 1919-1920, a member of the professional staff of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. Commissioner Potter has said on several occasions that the principles of public administration which she absorbed at the Philadelphia bureau have been of great value to her in her subsequent official career.

F. P. G.



Cleveland Ends Year with Cash Balance—A Rare Experience for Ohio Cities.—A note of brightness was sounded in the world of public finance recently when the city of Cleveland announced that it had finished the year's operations not only without a deficit but with a cash balance of over a half million dollars. This cash balance was a real one, for all pay-rolls and bills for the year 1922 had been met or funds reserved for payment of obligations of 1922 after the close of the year. In short, the balance of \$558,000 constituted an unincumbered amount. This reversal of financial experience on the part of the city has called forth much fervent comment from taxpayers, newspapers and observers of government throughout the country. One observer heralded this event as "the most important and significant happening since the signing of the armistice." While this commentator's enthusiasm may be too high-powered, the fact remains that this signal accomplishment of the present administration marks a real turning point in the condition of the city's finances.

This happy condition of affairs was brought to pass notwithstanding the fact that the city in 1922 suffered a substantial loss of revenues as compared with 1921. This noteworthy accom-

plishment may be explained in the following ways:

1. The new mayor, Mr. Fred Kohler, instituted a tremendously persistent and rapid-fire economy program. Literally hundreds of persons were separated from the pay-rolls by virtue of the mayor's extremely effective ax-wielding activities. Political favorites, "hangers-on," superfluous employes in all departments and divisions were apprehended and peremptorily dismissed. In fact over a million dollars was cut from the pay-rolls as compared with the 1921 figures.
2. Careful and close buying of supplies contributed to the economies accomplished.
3. The city operated under a well planned budget, rigidly enforced, coupled with a conservative and carefully prepared estimate of revenues.

The present administration has without question demonstrated that the city can be operated within its income, a reduced income at that, and the functions of government be carried on to the apparent satisfaction, broadly speaking, of the newspapers and the general populace.

L. E. CARTER.



Federal Reclassification.—After several years of exhaustive investigations, conferences unnumbered and elaborate hearings, the prospects of substantial progress in the federal personnel situation are at last "looking up." This progress takes the form of a compromise measure between the reclassification bill framed by Senator Sterling and Representative Lehlbach and the bill which originated in the bureau of efficiency that has been sponsored by Senator Smoot. The latter measure has this advantage, that certain of its features are already in operation under an executive order of October, 1921. The compromise marks an end to the dead-lock that has lasted since the report of the reclassification commission, made in March, 1920.

According to a report made by a representative group of federal employes, the chief feature of

the new bill is the creation of a personnel classification board that is to consist of the director of the bureau of budget, a member of the staff of the civil service commission and the chief of the bureau of efficiency or such alternatives as these officials may designate. This board is empowered to employ a director and staff. Its functions are to apply and administer uniform standards of classification and salary policies in co-operation with the various department heads and also to set up a classification of the field service that is to be submitted to congress as soon as this work is accomplished. Because of their controversial character the labor services (skilled and unskilled) are excluded from the bill. The personnel classification board is finally to exercise general supervision over the efficiency rating systems that so far as operation are concerned are to be under the control of the bureau of efficiency.

It is proposed that the classification and standardization of salaries shall go into effect for the coming fiscal year which begins July 1, 1923. A recent newspaper report brings out the fact that Senators Sterling and Smoot have already conferred with President Harding on the matter and that the proposed measure has met with his approval.

W. E. MOSHER.



New Efforts to Wreck the Grand Rapids Charter Fail.—Another effort has been made to weaken the commission manager form of government in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Petitions providing for ward elections and the direct election of the mayor were filed with the city recently, but a careful check made by several city officials resulted in the elimination of hundreds of signers who were not qualified registered voters. The remaining signatures were not sufficient in number to initiate the proposition, hence the amendments will not appear on the ballot at the spring primary election, March 7, 1923.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW published in the July, 1922, issue an account of the campaign last April that was waged in Grand Rapids against a return to aldermanic government. Friends of the charter were successful in their efforts to sustain the commission manager plan. Although the majority in favor of the retention of manager government was larger than the majority vote cast for the adoption of the charter in 1916, the minority vote was pointed out by those in favor of the ward system of

elections as a conclusive argument for ward representation. However, the amendments which failed of submission at the primary, will perhaps be placed on the ballot at the election on April 2. This depends, of course, upon the reception with which new petitions will be received. One cannot guess as to the outcome of a petition campaign, but it can be said, in my humble opinion, that, barring any unlooked-for advantage the opposition may secure in the near future, the commission manager form of government will be retained in Grand Rapids, and any proposal providing for the ward system of elections will be defeated by a handsome majority.

The Grand Rapids Citizens League is the leading spirit in defending the present charter.

RUSSELL F. GRIFFEN.



Recent Important Decisions on Law of Zoning.—The New Jersey supreme court has recently handed down some decisions of importance affecting the law of zoning.

Cannot Compel Erection of Buildings of Prescribed Height. *Dorison vs Saul* was an application for mandamus on the part of the owner to compel the inspector of buildings in Jersey City to issue a permit for a two-story building. Inspector refused the permit on the ground that the proposed two-story building was in a district in which the zoning ordinance of Jersey City prohibited the erection of buildings less than three stories in height.

In awarding the mandamus the supreme court of New Jersey held that the zoning act passed by legislature did not give the city the power to enact such an ordinance. In handing down its opinion the court said:

“It seems to us that this act confers on municipalities only the power to limit the height of buildings and not to compel the erection of buildings of a prescribed height. The height of buildings in cities increases the fire hazard, especially if the fire department of the city is inadequately equipped to reach fires in high buildings. To permit a city to meet such conditions this statute was probably enacted. . . . Two story buildings are certainly no more subject to fire hazards than three story buildings. Neither is the public health or welfare the better conserved by the erection of three story buildings than two story buildings.”

No Public Garages Near Schools or Churches. *In Schait vs. Senior*, a case affecting the zoning

ordinance prepared by Herbert S. Swan for Montclair, the New Jersey supreme court went further in sustaining such legislature than it has hitherto at any time gone. In addition to sustaining zoning under the police power the court held that an ordinance of a town prohibiting the erection of a garage or group of garages, for more than five motor vehicles, on any lot situated within a radius of two hundred feet of, or within any portion of a street between two intersecting streets in which portion there exists a public school or a church, is a reasonable regulation touching public health, safety and general welfare, and is within the scope of the police power of the town, and is consequently valid.



County Government News.—Westchester County, New York. The Commission created to frame a new form of government for Westchester county, under the special constitutional amendment has abandoned hope of working out a satisfactory measure in time for submission to this session of the legislature and action is now deferred two years.

The commission reached the stage of discussing a tentative plan retaining the board of forty-one supervisors but transferring financial control to a new board of estimate and centering appointive power in a supervisor-at-large.

Nassau County, New York. Under the capable and practical leadership of its chairman, William S. Pettit, the Nassau county government commission will be ready with a bill for submission to this year's legislature providing an improved form of government of Nassau county subject to approval at a local referendum.

The tentative draft provides a county president elected at large for four years with appointive and removal power, without confirmation, over all county officers except the sheriff, county clerk and district attorney, and the judiciary, whom the constitution still requires to be elective. He will appoint the county commissioner of police whose force will replace the elective township constables, the health commissioner who will appoint local health officers, county attorney, commissioner of welfare, charities and correction replacing the overseers of the poor, county treasurer who will receive both town and county taxes, county board of assessors with power to

correct township assessing, county zoning and planning commission and board of elections.

There will be a board of six supervisors with double votes in certain cases, which shall have power to reduce but not increase the annual budget prepared by the supervisor at large. A comptroller will be elective with auditing powers and there will be a county system of inferior courts replacing the justices of the peace.

Town governments will be simplified—they lose their financial officers, their judicial officers, their charity work. They will have boards of three trustees who appoint a town clerk.

Village government remains untouched but the powers of the county are so developed that further creation of village corporations will be less necessary.

Sedgwick County, Kansas. A movement is reported from Wichita proposing to ask the legislature for a law authorizing Sedgwick, Shawnee and Wyandotte counties to employ county managers upon a favorable local referendum. Local politicians say that it will cause a revolution if passed.

R. S. CHILDS.



City-County Consolidation Considered in New Jersey.—The board of directors of the Jersey City (New Jersey) chamber of commerce has ordered a referendum among the two thousand members on the advisability of consolidating all of the municipalities in Hudson county into a single city. This action serves temporarily to reopen a question which first engaged the attention of Hudson county twenty years ago.

The situation there differs only in degree from that existing in a number of metropolitan areas throughout the country. Hudson county has an area of only forty-three square miles and a population of 650,000. Included within its boundaries are three cities, and ten boroughs, towns and townships. All are urban in character.

So far as the application of consolidation principles is concerned, there is only one complicating element. Three of the civil divisions, with a combined population of only 45,000, are separated from the rest of the county by several miles of virtually unoccupied meadowland. They are, however, so close to the city of Newark, being separated from it only by the Passaic river, as to

constitute an integral part of the Newark-Essex county metropolitan area.

If these three small municipalities be excluded from consideration, the case for thorough-going consolidation in Hudson county becomes very clear. In fact, the interests common to this area have been so generally recognized as to require the progressive extension of county functions. This practice has relieved the situation in some respects but has naturally produced duplication of municipal and county administrative agencies, and has added appreciably to the cost of government.

In spite of the fact that the business interests of the county seem to be receptive to the scheme of thorough-going consolidation, it is considered doubtful whether their agitation will effect any changes at this time. Although a stranger would be quite unable to identify, even in a general way, the several municipalities which constitute the county, there is the liveliest sense of local self-consciousness. (It is inconceivable that there is anything like "local pride.") The matter will, therefore, probably take the same course as has been followed in the neighboring county of Essex. Sporadic attempts will be made at administrative consolidation until the situation becomes so painful as finally to force definite action. Then, and not until then, will the situation be relieved.

Meanwhile, these two county areas, which are themselves important parts of the much greater metropolitan area surrounding New York city, will continue among the most interesting examples of fragmentary and unarticulated administration.

BRUCE SMITH.



Los Angeles Moves to Reduce Crime.—Los Angeles has been in the limelight in recent months in a number of respects. Several atrocious crimes and a jailbreaking or two have called the attention of the people of the United States, as well as those of California, to certain conditions in the administration of criminal justice in southern California.

While one group of organizations has begun a campaign to interest the press in giving much less attention to the details of crime and feature stories about scandal on the theory that the press is, in some sense, partially responsible for a condition of mind which makes crime easy, the newspapers themselves together with several

prominent citizens have organized the Los Angeles Crime Commission, a body which hopes to do something to help suppress crime.

Its first activity was to conduct a campaign for increase in pay of the police force, and an enlargement of the force by 500. Its latest campaign, undertaken in connection with the Los Angeles County Bar Association, deals with legislative and constitutional changes. The principal items are as follows:

(1) A constitutional amendment providing that three-fourths of a jury may return a verdict in criminal cases except where such verdict involves a death penalty.

(2) A constitutional amendment giving judges the right to comment on the evidence and to advise juries on questions of fact as well as of law, as is done in the federal courts and in England.

(3) A bill amending the penal code to provide that probation shall not be open to persons convicted of crimes of violence involving the use of deadly weapons, nor to public officials found guilty of bribery, embezzlement or extortion.

(4) A bill declaring that robbery involving torture of the victim or use of a deadly weapon shall be adjudged first-degree robbery punishable by a minimum of ten years in the penitentiary.

(5) A bill declaring that the minimum value of stolen property, the theft of which constitutes grand larceny, shall be \$200 instead of \$50 as at present.

(6) A bill declaring that burglary of a dwelling where the criminal is armed with a deadly weapon shall be first-degree burglary; that the entry by night or with a deadly weapon of any building not used as a dwelling shall be second-degree burglary; that all other burglaries shall be third degree; that there shall be a minimum penalty of ten, five and one year's imprisonment for each of these respective degrees of burglary.

(7) A bill providing more severe penalties for crimes committed by persons armed with deadly weapons, this being considered in each case to constitute a higher degree of crime. Rape, arson, robbery and grand larceny are particularly mentioned in this connection.

(8) A bill providing for enlargement of the state bureau of criminal identification and investigation.

(9) A bill making it optional with a trial judge whether or not he shall sign a certificate of probable cause upon application of a person convicted of crime.

(10) A bill making it a felony for any prisoner to escape from the custody of the sheriff of any county, whether or not such prisoner is confined in jail.

One of the slogans now heard is, "For Swifter and Surer Justice."

It may be that the original suggestion for such a program came from Lord Shaw, of the English lords of appeal, when he was in Los Angeles last summer and had something to say, in a comparative way, about American and English criminal justice.

C. A. DYKSTRA.



Chicago to End Thompsonism; Next Mayor to be High-Grade Man.—"Thompsonism" is on the gang plank, baggage in hand, waiting until the April election to abandon the good ship Chicago over which it has played at captain for eight years. The word "Thompsonism" is used advisedly, because that is the term which the citizens of Chicago have adopted to characterize the city administration of the past two terms. In their minds the mayor of Chicago has not been the man whom they elected—William Hale Thompson. He has been only the name—the figurehead—the tool. The real chief executive has been the influences back of him in the persons of Lundin and others, whose bidding he did.

Chicago gave a gasp of surprise, then a sigh of relief the other day when the morning papers carried the news that Thompson would not be a candidate for re-election either at the primary in February or at the election in April. Up to that time it was generally understood that he would seek re-election. In fact, only a few days prior to that announcement the morning paper which has supported him began a series of articles under the mayor's signature in support of his administration. This, of course, was only preliminary to the more active and aggressive form of campaign which would follow later. But things had been happening.

One of the afternoon papers carried, as a leading item of news, the story that a committee of one hundred was being organized by the church federation and other organizations to put a high grade candidate in the field and try to defeat Thompson, both in the primary and at the election. The morning papers carried the additional news that the Anti-Saloon League was also back of the movement. Realizing that this meant a straight out-and-out wet and dry plus a

sectarian religious fight and a complete submergence of the real issues—or what should be the issues—of the campaign, a dozen or more high minded men representing the leading commercial and civic organizations met and decided, first to try to induce the church federation to withhold its activities, and second, failing to do so, to launch a counter movement.

The church federation group declined even to delay their movement long enough to confer with the other group; but proceeded to name their committee, adopt their emblem of a broom, and recruit their committee of one hundred. The other group called a meeting at the City Club of leading men and women from all sections of the city, named a representative committee composed of Republicans and Democrats, and adopted resolutions to the effect that both political parties should be urged to name high grade candidates. If the two parties, or either refused to do this then the committee would determine whether or not an independent candidate should be put into the race. Both political parties were badly divided by factional quarrels, but the committee went to the leaders of all factions in both parties, put before them the names of men in the two party groups whom they would support, and asked each party group to agree upon their choice of the names submitted.

The democratic factions had little difficulty in reaching a complete agreement and joining their forces back of William E. Dever, judge of the superior court, who had an exceptionally good record of some eight years' service in the city council and who has always been an active advocate of municipal ownership and operation of transit lines. The republican factions (except the city hall or Lundin group) after much jockeying for position, finally agreed to unite their forces back of Arthur C. Lueder, postmaster of Chicago, who is generally recognized as a clean cut business man and an efficient postmaster.

The question then was "Will Thompson risk his chances against Lueder in the republican primary or keep out of the primary and run as an independent at the election?" The one morning newspaper which had been supporting Thompson, immediately upon the announcement of Judge Dever's candidacy, began to show a lack of interest in Thompson and a deep interest in Dever. A few days later Thompson withdrew entirely from the race. Three other Republicans have since filed their petitions; but at this writ-

ing, there seems little likelihood that either of them will draw heavily from Mr. Lueder.

The Chicago electorate is in this happy state of mind—whichever candidate is elected Chicago will have a good mayor and a thorough house cleaning. This cleaning process it is expected will be greatly aided by a better city council, which the Better City Council Committee, organized at a City Club conference, is now trying to secure. The indications now are that Chicago is ready to "come back" after eight years of political philandering.

MAYO FESLER.

*

A Job Analysis of the Secretaryship of the Interior.—Many candidates have been discussed for the post of secretary of the interior to supersede the present incumbent and by the time this is in print the selection may have been made and the new secretary installed in office. It will be none the less interesting to try to measure the new member of the president's cabinet by a measuring rod set up impartially and with no individual in mind. The newly appointed secretary may strengthen the cabinet or weaken it; but the cabinet functions, apart from the subject matter of the department administered, are so casual that we need not seriously consider them apart from the administrative functions of the secretary of the interior.

The department over which the new secretary must preside includes the office of Indian affairs, general land office, patent office, bureau of pensions, bureau of education, bureau of mines, reclamation service, national park service, geological survey, Alaskan engineering commission, Howard University, and the division of capitol buildings and grounds. Here we have subject matter on widely varied fields. On the supposition that the chiefs of the bureaus are ordinarily men trained in the technical subject matter for which they are responsible, we should have reporting to the secretary an anthropologist, an expert in classifying land, an expert in the law of patents and their relation to commerce, a man trained in modern insurance methods to handle pensions, a trained educator, a mining engineer, a civil engineer who has specialized in reclamation projects, an expert park man, a scientist capable of directing the geological

survey, and a university president in addition to manifold qualifications needed for the members of the Alaskan engineering commission. The very enumeration of these diverse bureaus brings out the weakness of the department of the interior when it comes to administration.

In addition to having the knowledge, or the power to acquire the knowledge, necessary for making intelligent decisions of policy in the face of conflicting advice from his own organization, the secretary of the interior must be able to form stable policies concerning the public lands, reclamation projects, national parks, patents, pensions, mining, geology and education.

It matters very little whether the new secretary of the interior be a lawyer, an engineer, a scientist, or a business man. He cannot possibly be expert in all the subjects which he must administer. What he needs above all are *qualities*. He needs, first, the *quality of understanding* the problems put to him for settlement, he needs the *quality of discrimination* between major and minor points at issue. He needs *vision* in order to be able to see the results of policies after they have been adopted. But all these are as naught if he lack the one great quality which every secretary of the interior should possess—the quality which leads a man to recognize and defend the *public welfare* against private encroachment. Some of the most disastrous failures of the past have not been due to a lack of courage to stand for the right but from an inability to discern the public welfare.

This country does not suffer so much from those who knowingly do wrong as it does from those whose *idea* of what is wrong is so adjustable and whose *idea* of what is right is so flexible that no clear issue arises in their minds between the general good and personal gain. We are bound to suffer from these among our citizenship; but when we start out to find a man to administer some part of the remnant of our public lands and resources we need particularly a man who sees the future, who values the public welfare and who serves the people, a man who can rise above personal friendships and local demands.

We have had such men at the head of the department of the interior in the past. May we have one now, Mr. President?

HARLEAN JAMES.

II. CITY MANAGER NEWS

By JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Secretary, City Managers' Association, Lawrence, Kansas*

A Permanent Secretariat for The City Managers' Association has been established at Lawrence, Kansas, at which place the association's publications will be edited and printed.



City Manager Magazine (international) succeeds *City Manager Bulletin* as the official organ of The City Managers' Association. It is hoped that more and better service may be rendered to the membership through this new publication.



The 1922 Yearbook has been received from the printer and is available at 50 cents the copy.



Alameda, California, is to construct a health building at an approximate cost of thirty thousand dollars. City Manager C. E. Hickok is promoting the construction of a forty-three thousand dollar road to connect Alameda with San Leandro. The annual report of the city manager shows that the tax dollar in Alameda is divided as follows: general overhead, 7.4 per cent; miscellaneous general, 7.2 per cent; recreation and parks, 7.6 per cent; interest and redemption, 15 per cent; schools, 8.8 per cent; pension relief, 3.1 per cent; fire department, 18.4 per cent; public use (East Bay Water Co.), 7 per cent; buildings, .3 per cent; health department, 2.5 per cent; library, 3.8 per cent.



Boulder, Colorado, has purchased \$38,934 worth of equipment. These purchases indicate, according to city officials, the merit of the budget system and also the economies practiced by the administration, inasmuch as all the funds were obtained from the usual tax levy and ordinary revenues.



The Voters of Tampa, Florida, will vote March 6 on a proposition to bond the city for \$2,650,000 to purchase the plant of the Tampa Water Works Company and to provide for a new and more adequate supply of soft water.



Atchison, Kansas, according to Burt C. Wells, the city manager, closed the year 1921 with a

balance of \$73,477.32 after all bills were paid. The tax rate was lowered 1.1 mills in 1921 and 1.4 in 1922. The city bought and cancelled \$31,250 in bonds not due until 1925-1928. It also purchased 25 acres additional land for parks.



Excelsior Springs, Missouri, under the administration of T. V. Stephens has reduced outstanding accounts from \$9,000 to \$3,000 during the past year. A \$25,000 sewage plant has been completed.



City Manager Kirk Dyer of Ardmore has resigned following a demand by the city commissioners that he discharge the chief of police.



City Manager W. P. Hammersley of Norwood, Massachusetts, has been appointed a member of the Business Mens' Institute of the College of Business Administration of Boston University, and is to address the junior class on the profession of city manager.



C. B. Greene, director of the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research, is assisting in drafting a city manager charter for Wilmington, Delaware. The charter must be passed upon by the state legislature.



Portland, Maine.—February 8th, two charters for Portland were submitted to the Main legislature, one a city manager plan, the other a federal plan charter.

The city business manager charter, as it is called, with a popular petition for permission to hold a referendum thereon, was submitted by Senator Ralph O. Brewster, while the federal plan charter with referendum provision attached was submitted by Mayor Chaplin's charter commission. This charter plans for fourteen councilmen, nine to be elected by wards and five at large in alternate years, the mayor to be given full appointive power for all department heads.



The Following Cities have adopted the city manager plan during the past two months,

Berkeley, Chico, Modesto, Stockton, San Mateo, Santa Rosa and Visalia, California; Brookville, Kissimmee, Ft. Pierce, Leesburg and Orlando, Florida; Albany, Georgia; Maywood, Illinois, and St. Johnsbury, Vt.

♦

Three Cities Reject C. M. Plan.—The following cities voted not to accept the city manager plan; Augusta, Georgia; El Segundo, California; Redford, Michigan.

♦

Recent Appointments—City managers have recently been appointed to the following

positions: C. B. Battershell, Springdale, Pennsylvania; H. G. Bottorf, Sacramento, California; Ed. Fisher, Cherokee, Oklahoma; C. J. Halbert, Sturgis, Michigan; H. P. Giebler, St. Marys, Kansas; Walter A. Richards, Columbus, Georgia; J. W. Greer, Bartow, Florida; Anton Schneider, Lakeland, Florida; D. E. Bevins, Leesburg, Florida; W. Austin Smith, Tallahassee, Florida; Forest Bowen, Michigan City, Michigan; Clyde King, Eldorado, Kansas; C. W. Mizzell, Heavener, Oklahoma; A. A. Kratz, Astoria, Oregon; Thomas S. Scott, Niagara Falls, Ontario; M. J. Rutledge, Woodstock, New Brunswick; F. W. Waggoner, Farmville, Virginia.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Dayton City Commission to Study P. R.—The city commission of Dayton has appointed an advisory committee of fifteen to prepare an amendment to the charter. Proportional representation will have the greatest consideration as a means of making the commission more representative. It is reported that many of the advisory committee already favor it.

♦

The 1923 Convention of the National Highway Traffic Association, which was to have been held in Cleveland, Ohio, on February 19 and 20, has been postponed.

♦

Progress of the Plan of New York.—The Report of Progress from May 10, 1922, to February 1, 1923, has been issued by the Committee on Plan of New York and Environs. In it is included Raymond Unwin's preliminary report of the general situation as a result of conferences held during October, 1922. Copies of the report may be had on application to them at 130 East 22nd Street, New York City.

♦

A New Planning Board.—We are indebted to Mr. Frank E. Marble of Lynn, Massachusetts, for the information that after ten years trying Lynn has secured a much needed planning board. The membership of the board is as follows: Miss Eleanor Manning, John M. Farquhar, Dr. Blair, Mr. Colburn, Mr. Rourke, G. W. Howe.

Clyde L. Seavey, manager of Sacramento, has resigned to accept an appointment as member of the State Railway Commission of California.

♦

The National Institute of Public Administration has added a statistician to its staff. He is Mr. E. M. Martin, who has just completed, under the auspices of the institute, a trade test study of the Newark police department. Mr. Martin was formerly statistician in the United States public health service.

♦

C. A. Dykstra, secretary of the Los Angeles City Club and member of the council of the League, has been appointed a member of the Los Angeles Public Service Commission by Mayor Cryer.

♦

Taxpayers League Organized in North Dakota.—A State Taxpayers Association has been started in North Dakota, modelled somewhat on the plans of the Duluth Taxpayers League. Mr. J. G. Gunderson of Aneta is president and Mr. F. W. McRoberts is secretary. The office of the association is in Fargo. Though organized but a few weeks they have already issued a bulletin on the bonded debt of North Dakota.

♦

The Bureau of Public Personnel Administration is now an accomplished fact. It is affiliated

with the Institute of Government Research, 26 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Professor L. L. Thurstone of the department of psychology of Carnegie Institute of Technology and Fred Telford, well known to the readers of the REVIEW, are the principal staff members of the new bureau.

The bureau has been privately underwritten for a term of years. Its field of work covers state and municipal employee problems as well as the federal service. It will work in closest harmony with the federal, state and municipal civil service commissions.



The Hoosier State Host to Park Conference.—Arrangements have been completed by the State Park Conference Committee, of which Judge John Barton Payne is chairman, to accept the cordial invitation of the Indiana State Department of Conservation to hold the next State Park Conference on May 7, 8 and 9 in Turkey Run State Park, west of Indianapolis. The hotel which is operated in the State Park for the convenience of the people of the state of Indiana has been made available for the conference at the very small rates of \$2.50 and \$3.00 a day.

It should be recalled that Indianapolis lies on the national trails route across the continent of the United States and that automobile trips may

be planned from "points east and west" to take in the State Park Conference.

Hotel reservations should be requested from Miss Beatrice Ward, secretary of the Conference Committee, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

HARLEAN JAMES.



Frederick P. Gruenberg, the chairman of the Governmental Research Conference of the United States and Canada, was invited to prolong a recent trip in the west by visiting St. Louis, where a bureau of municipal research has recently been organized under the directorship of Dr. Jesse D. Burks. In addition to consulting with members of the St. Louis bureau's board of trustees on general bureau problems, and with members of the staff on various phases of the technical work, Mr. Gruenberg addressed three audiences in St. Louis on general civic topics. He also spent a day in Toledo where he addressed a group consisting of the legislative committee of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce, public officials, representatives of the municipal university and members of the official commission on publicity and efficiency.

One day was spent in Cleveland in consultation with Charles B. Ryan, secretary and treasurer of the conference, principally on plans preparatory for the national meeting to be held in Minneapolis during June, 1923.

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